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The Literature of Italy 1265–1907.

Edited by Rossiter Johnson and Dora Knowlton Ranous

With a General Introduction by William Michael Rossetti and Special Introductions by James, Cardinal Gibbons, Charles Eliot Norton, S. G. W. Benjamin, William S. Walsh, Maurice Francis Egan, and others

New translations, and former renderings compared and revised

Translators: James C. Brogan, Lord Charlemont, Geoffrey Chaucer, Hartley Coleridge, Florence Kendrick Cooper, Lady Dacre, Theodore Dwight, Edward Fairfax, Ugo Foscolo, G. A. Greene, Sir Thomas Hoby, William Dean Howells, Luigi Monti, Evangeline M. O'Connor, Thomas Okey, Dora Knowlton Ranous, Thomas Roscoe, William Stewart Rose, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, William Michael Rossetti, John Addington Symonds, William S. Walsh, William Wordsworth, Sir Thomas Wyatt

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A HISTORY

OF

ITALIAN LITERATURE

(1265-1907)

BY

FRANCESCO FLAMINI

TRANSLATED BY EVANGELINE M. O'CONNOR

INTRODUCTION BY

WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI

WITH AN INDEX

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GENERAL PREFACE

IT was a shrewd trick of the old buccaneers, when they buried their plunder, to establish marks in various directions, each pointing at the spot where the treasure lay. A single mark would indicate merely that it was somewhere on an indefinite line; but where several of these lines crossed each other the spot was shown with exactness. Anyone who should have had the luck to discover some of these marks, and trace the indicated lines, might have helped himself to the gold. We cannot study Chaucer, or Shakespeare, or many another author, without observing indications that they have borrowed plots and characters from another literature; and when we trace the indicated lines, we find that a large number of them meet in Italy, and consequently we look there for the original treasure. As the Italian peninsula is larger and more varied than Greece, and in civilization antedated France, Germany, and Spain, while its capital had been for several centuries the center of the known world, it was inevitable that the greatest literature of the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance should spring from its soil.

Mrs. Jameson remarks that the fact that every traveler speaks of Italy as the second country in the world

proves that it is really the first. However this may be, the land and its art and its literature forever challenge the attention of the tourist, the reader, and the connoisseur. The dreamy shores of Lake Como, the stones of sea-born Venice, the shades of Vallombrosa, the unnumbered treasures of Florence, Milan's "mount of marble and hundred spires," the ruins of historic Rome, the revelations of Pompeii, and the weird mystery of Pæstum, all are familiar to thousands of travelers who know hardly a word of the beautiful *lingua italiana* and have little conception of the extent and richness of its literature. Shakespeare placed his Othello and Shylock in Venice, his Katherine and Petruchio in Padua, his Two Gentlemen and his Romeo and Juliet in Verona, his Julius Cæsar and Coriolanus in Rome, and parts of plays in various other places in Italy. In more modern times our attention has been called to the Italy of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey,* the Italy that Byron and Shelley loved, the Italy that Dickens tried to picture, the Italy of Landor and the Brownings, the Italy with which Ruskin and Howells and Crawford have made us acquainted. We have all been introduced to the country, but not many of us to its rich and romantic literature. One reason for this may be found in a remark of Byron's—that it is very easy to acquire a smattering of the Italian language, but very difficult to master it.

Dante's *Divine Comedy* has had various translators and commentators, from Cary to Longfellow; English versions of Boccaccio's tales are common; and the *Orlando Furioso* has been translated, but hardly edited as it should be. Beyond these, there is a vast deal of Italian

literature that has been left untouched or imperfectly rendered into our language. Of Flamini's admirable *History of Italian Literature,* our translation, which forms the first volume of this series, is the only English version ever made. Boccaccio's exquisite story of *La Fiammetta* is attainable in English nowhere but in the translation here presented. So also with Carcano's *Damiano;* and Pellico's *Francesca da Rimini* has not heretofore had any worthy rendering into our language. Serao's *The Conquest of Rome* and D'Annunzio's *The Flame* have here been newly translated because no satisfactory work by an earlier translator existed. And of the other books that are included in the series, nearly all have required careful editing, either for moral delicacy, or for correctness of English, or for fidelity to the original. Much labor and skill have been expended upon this part of our task, with results that we hope will commend themselves to every reader. We have called to our aid the two foremost Italian scholars in England and the United States—William Michael Rossetti and Charles Eliot Norton—whose pens have illuminated the study of the great subject to which they have given so many years; and we have entrusted some of the necessary introductions to scholars like Cardinal Gibbons, Hon. S. G. W. Benjamin, Professor Maurice Francis Egan, and Mr. William S. Walsh. The illustrations have been chosen, or designed, not for their pictorial beauty alone, but for actual assistance to the text, and have been made under the highest development of the art of photogravure.

No reasonable reader will expect to get the whole of

a great literature in sixteen volumes; but we believe that, with our own knowledge and that of trustworthy advisers, such a selection is here made as presents the heart and soul of Italian letters from Dante to D'Annunzio. By this the reader may become familiar not only with Italy's literary genius but also with much of her history and the character of her people through five hundred active and progressive years. In Dante's *Vita Nuova,* Boccaccio's *La Fiammetta,* and the *Sonnets* of Petrarch and Michelangelo he may see that poetic power, here inspired by the grand passion, which is recognized as the first growth in nearly every national literature. In the *Orlando Furioso* and the *Jerusalem Delivered* he sees the same faculty make its first advance to tales of war and chivalry. In Machiavelli's *The Prince* and Castiglione's *The Courtier* is revealed the philosophy of monarchical government in their day; in Guerrazzi's *Beatrice Cenci,* Manzoni's *The Betrothed,* and Grossi's *Marco Visconti* the power and the terror of feudalism even in its later stages; in Cellini's *Memoirs,* the life of the sixteenth century among artists, artisans, court characters, and the common people; and in Serao's *The Conquest of Rome* and D'Annunzio's *The Flame* highly illuminated views of modern Italian courtship, intrigue, and political life. Pellico's story of his imprisonment under Austrian tyranny, and Mazzini's essays on the final struggle for Italian independence and liberty, are inextinguishable lights of modern history. Italy's stage is represented by Goldoni's comedies and Alfieri's tragedies; and many fine examples of her lighter literature have been gathered in the anthology volume.

It will thus be seen that this series is not confined to any one branch of literature, but represents all in fair proportion. With a lucid history of Italy's literature for the opening volume, the other fifteen fall naturally into three sections: first, Poetry, the Drama, and Belles-lettres; second, Essays, Memoirs, and Historical Romance; and third, Fiction.

Whether we here listen to the steadfast lovers of long ago, or the thunder of the guns from the Castle of Saint Angelo, or the wail of pestilence in the streets of Milan, or the sighs of prisoners in the leaden cells of the Ducal Palace, or the whisperings of conspirators and bravoes, or the gossip of the modern boudoir, or the trumpet-call to freedom, it is all Italy—Italy and her glorious literature.

ROSSITER JOHNSON
DORA KNOWLTON RANOUS

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INTRODUCTION TO ITALIAN LITERATURE

TWO things are highly remarkable about the Italian language and its literature: First—that this language was the latest of all the modern European tongues to have any literature whatever; and, Second—that as soon as it began to have a literature, it distanced all those other languages and borrowed nothing more from them—left them so far behind that Italian was the consummate voice of the mediæval world, on an equality with the expired or expiring literatures of Greece and Rome, and in some sense even surpassing them, while all the other literatures of the time became by comparison exercises in child's play. The reason for this is, that one particular man was born in Florence, and wrote in the most malleable of the Italian dialects, the Florentine—Dante Alighieri. With his advent, the Italian literary language became Tuscan, or indeed Florentine, which was less distant from Latin than the other dialects.

Of the modern tongues founded upon Latin, the first to develop a literature was the Provençal. The French, Spanish, and Portuguese all preceded the Italian. This is to be accounted for on the ground, chiefly, that the Italian dialects of that time were more largely infused than the other Continental vernaculars with the half-obsolete Latin, and therefore Latin, such as it was, occupied the literary field in Italy. Several Italians, such as Sordello, wrote in Provençal. There is nothing that can properly be called Italian earlier than about 1220, when some writers began in Palermo, in the court of

the splendid Emperor Frederick II, himself a leader in the movement. These poets were of a courtly stamp, tending to the vapid; but there were others of a more robust and popular kind, as known to us in the *Contrasto* of Cielo del Carno (commonly termed Ciullo d'Alcamo), which has often been spoken of as the earliest known specimen of Italian (or Sicilian) verse. It is not anterior to 1231, thirty-four years preceding Dante's birth in 1265.

From Sicily Italian poetry began to spread elsewhere. St. Francis of Assisi, Fra Jacopone da Todi, Dante da Majano, who was a Tuscan, wrote Italian verse; and some Tuscans, such as Folgore da San Gemignano and Cecco Angiolieri (the latter may be regarded as the earliest positive humorist in any modern language) introduced a certain element of satirical banter. Guittone d'Arezzo (born about 1235) was originally of the Sicilian school of verse, and he afterward took to Tuscan modes. He probably first settled the form of the sonnet, which is at any rate an Italian invention. Italian likewise are the *terza rima* (seemingly invented by Dante) and the octave stanza, which Boccaccio, though he did not originate it, first used in a long composition, the *Teseide*, the oldest of Italian romantic poems. This is a great record of verse-forms for one nation to claim as its own; for the sonnet is to this day the most perfect model for a short poem at once lyrical and reflective, and the octave stanza imbues prolonged narrative with unmatched spirit; while it is difficult to conceive that any meter other than *terza rima* could exactly suit the stupendous extra-mundane subject and scale of the greatest and most arduous invention in the realm of poetry, *La Commedia Divina*.

Let me mention here a few other *origines* in Italian literature. The first important piece of prose in that language was *La Vita Nuova* of Dante, about 1292. This,

however, had been preceded by the *Composizione del Mondo* of Ristoro d'Arezzo, toward the middle of the thirteenth century. The very earliest known Italian prose comes from Siena (1231). The first European prose-romance is the *Filocopo* of Boccaccio, about 1339; it is high-flown and verbose, and would be dubbed intolerably pedantic if a merely modern standard of appreciation could be applied to it. This was succeeded by *La Fiammetta,* a romance of sentiment quite unexampled in European literature, and with little to succeed it in a similar line until we come to *La Nouvelle Héloïse* of Rousseau. If we could here include Boccaccio's Latin writings, we must again pronounce him a marked originator in his *De Genealogia Deorum,* and his *De Claris Mulieribus,* in which he became the first historiographer of women. Of drama there was some faint beginning in the thirteenth century, not continued until the fifteenth; which also first gave birth to the *Canti Carnascialeschi,* or Carnival-chants, in which Lorenzo de' Medici was an adept. Machiavelli and Guicciardini, late in that century, are the chief pioneers in the science of history; followed by Giambattista Vico, in the eighteenth century, with his broad and fertile generalizations basing history upon nations rather than upon individuals, and showing necessary sequences of development, afterward utilized by Comte and Schelling.

In speaking of Italian literature, one has to recur time after time to that astounding protagonist, phenomenon, and hero, Dante Alighieri. If one were to say that Italian literature consists of Dante, it would no doubt be an exaggeration, and a gross one, and yet it would contain a certain ultimate nucleus of truth. Dante fixed the Italian language; and everyone had to tread in his vestiges. He embodied all the learning and thought of his age, and transcended them; he went far ahead of all his poetic predecessors, contemporaries, and suc-

cessors; he wrote the first memorable book in Italian prose; he wrote a critical exposition in the *Convito* and (in Latin) a linguistic treatise (the *De Vulgari Eloquio,* which upholds the *Vulgare illustre,* or speech of the best cultivated classes, markedly in Tuscany and Bologna, against the common dialects), and a political study *(De Monarchia)* of the most fundamental quality, which even to us moderns continues to be sane and convincing in its essence, though its direct line of argument has collapsed; and finally, and most important by far, he produced in *La Commedia Divina* the one poem of modern Europe that counterbalances Shakespeare and challenges antiquity. This is the sole book that makes it a real pity for anyone to be ignorant of Italian. Regarded singly, it is much the most astonishing poem in the world; dwarfing all others by its theme, pulverizing most of them by its majesty and sustainment, unique in the force of its paraded personality and the thunderous reverberation of its judgments on the living and the dead.

That personality—the fact that Dante is the hero of his own poem, although his scene is laid in Hell, Purgatory and Paradise—is one of the most conspicuous things about the work. Victor Hugo has devoted to it one of his glorious laconisms, picturing Dante as knocking at the door of Infinity, and saying, "Open! I am Dante!" He did not add "The door is opened," but he might very well have done so. It is curious to speculate as to what might have been the destiny of the Italian language and literature if Dante had submitted to the advice of Guido Cavalcanti, and had written the *Commedia Divina* in Latin instead of in Italian. Even before the *Commedia* was undertaken, Italian had a sufficiency of literary and poetic development to permit of the transition to Petrarch in the succeeding century; but much would have been missing in the way even of linguistic development, and Italian poetic speech would to this

day be without its world-monument. Meanwhile, in the decay of Latin as a language of literary interchange, the Latin-worded *Commedia* would itself have fallen very much out of currency.

The vicissitudes of Dante's writings—I speak especially of the *Commedia Divina*—have been observable. Before the *Commedia* was completed, or was at all known to the public, Dante was sentenced by the authorities of Florence to be burned alive, should he return thither. One of the most awful reflections that the history of any literature presents to us—the condemnation of Socrates, who had done his work—is nothing to this. But, not long after Dante's death in exile, 1321, the Florentines came to understand that he was the chief glory of their state, and a lectureship was endowed for expounding his works, Boccaccio being the first lecturer. Still, the enthusiasm must have been limited. Petrarch in his old age, about 1370, confessed that he never had read the *Commedia Divina;* and he may have left unperused the copy that Boccaccio sent him. Before the middle of the fifteenth century Dante, though never other than a great name, had ceased to be a great personal presence to Italian readers; and in the sixteenth century men's minds were occupied with a very different order of poets, an Ariosto and a Tasso, as well as by the persistent dribbling of a Petrarcan influence. One may reflect with pleasure that about this period two great artists were among the truest devotees of Alighieri—Botticelli and Michelangelo; and much later another, William Blake, learned Italian for the express purpose of studying him and designing from him. Marini and his mannerisms occupied the seventeenth century, and the eighteenth was more concerned with prose than with poetry, and at last with Alfieri's dramas. It was not till the great renovation forthcoming from the French Revolution that Dante became the dominant spirit throughout Italy;

and afterward a very puissant ruler of thought in other countries—England and Anglo-America foremost among these. Ruskin had something to do with this valuable result. This is a superb testimony to the depth and universality of Dante's human personal genius; for we see that, just when his formulated conception of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, and of other matters of defined faith, was losing its hold upon mankind, he reëmerged into a supremacy that certainly no other poet of modern Europe, save only Shakespeare, can divide with him. We might almost re-apply the utterance: "Destroy this temple [the dogmatic structure of the *Commedia Divina*], and in three days I will raise it up." And we might add with St. John: "But he spake of the temple, not indeed of his body but of his soul."

The beginnings of Italian poetry, just before the time of Dante, who arrived *couronner l'édifice,* had obtained some approach to a real achievement, in the work, which had partly a philosophical bearing, of the Bolognese Guido Guinicelli, and in that of Cino da Pistoja and Guido Cavalcanti, with whom it became expressly Tuscan:

> *Cosi ha tolto l'uno all' altro Guido*
> *La gloria della lingua; e forse è nato*
> *Chi l'uno e l'altro cascerà di nido.*

as Dante wrote, rightfully understanding his own ascendancy.

The successor to Dante was Petrarch, born in 1304; far the more famous of the two during his lifetime, and in some succeeding centuries of Italian poetry, and the first man that can be regarded as a literary dictator in Europe generally; learned according to the measure of that age, though he knew not Greek, of which the study was promoted principally by Boccaccio. Sweetness and delicacy, not uncombined with depth of sentiment, al-

ways expressed in perfect modulation and elegance of form, may be termed the essence of Petrarch's verse; and hereby Italian poetry at once assumed a vast executive superiority over whatsoever was to be found in other regions of Europe. Like Dante, Petrarch was a passionate advocate of the national claims of Italy, and he has even been pronounced the better Italian of the two, as relying less upon systematic theory to uphold his nationalism. Though Dante's love-poems for Beatrice may be the more beautiful, those of Petrarch for Laura exhibit more distinctly the passion of love. Their appeal proved universal; and to write sonnets *à la Petrarch* became an amusing—sometimes perhaps a genuine and moving—exercise for Italian versifiers for the ensuing three centuries and more, and not for Italians only. Even Michelangelo was in a measure a Petrarchist in his verse. With Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, was established the golden age of the *trecentisti;* to which, even after its direct influence had waned, linguistic purists recurred, as to the highest standard of Italian diction. Petrarch and his successors, sometimes little better than imitators, must be regarded as the main stream of the national poetry, varied, however, by other currents, which I proceed to indicate.

Humorous poetry, of which we have already noticed some trace, was pursued in the fourteenth century in the work of Bonichi, Antonio Pucci, and others; hardly at all by Boccaccio, notwithstanding his mastery of humor in prose, as often shown in the *Decameron.* In the fifteenth century, which was universally a much less productive period for poetry than the fourteenth, the chief masters are Lorenzo de' Medici and Poliziano. Lorenzo "the Magnificent" is remarkable for having taken with zest to a popular style of poetry, including the *canti carnascialeschi,* already mentioned, and *rispetti.* In Tuscany there is a whole side-literature of *rispetti* and

stornelli—special forms of verse, usually folk-songs in the strictest sense, surprisingly notable for delicate and forcible emotion and for charm of phrase. But some while before the end of the fifteenth century a new movement in Italian poetry was in active operation. It may be called the third main movement. The first was Dante, the unapproachable and solitary; the second, Petrarch and his school; the third, the romantic or chivalric epic, with which we have now to deal. This form of narrative poetry had in fact made a vigorous beginning with the *Tescide* and *Filostrato* of Boccaccio (which Chaucer drew upon for his *Palamon and Arcite* and his *Troylus and Cryseyde*). It afterward remained much in abeyance until Pucci renewed its currency, mainly in a humorous vein; and he served to inspirit Luigi Pulci, who, at the instance of the mother of Lorenzo de' Medici, wrote the *Morgante Maggiore*. This is a tale of the Paladin Roland (Orlando, in Italian) and a giant; and it makes very diverting reading, in virtue of its combination of chivalric subject and adventure with a large amount of rollicking burlesque. The same Carlovingian cycle of legend appears in the *Orlando Innamorato* of Matteo Boiardo, Count of Scandiano. Here the incidents, which are most numerous and varied, seem to be mainly Boiardo's own invention; and the humorous element can hardly be said to appear at all, the tone throughout being martial and exalted, in a true though now overripe spirit of chivalry. The same theme was taken up soon afterward by Ariosto, whose *Orlando Furioso* is, properly speaking, a sequel—and, even so, not fully a completion—of Boiardo's series of adventures. The great importance attached by Italians to nicety of literary form and Tuscan usage in diction, appears in the fact that, soon after Ariosto's work had appeared, that of Boiardo was regarded as deficient in those respects, and a Tuscan, Francesco Berni, re-fashioned it,

making it perhaps more brilliant, and certainly more amusing, by the insertion of various comic or semi-comic touches, but on the whole rather lowering its tone in the higher essentials. After Ariosto came Bernardo Tasso with the *Amadigi,* and Torquato Tasso with the *Gerusalemme Liberata;* and with this the roll of Italian epic poetry reached its culmination, although some outlying attempts of a later date, sometimes with a burlesquing tendency, may be taken into account.

It will be seen that the chief figures here, after allowing for Boccaccio as precursor, are Boiardo, Ariosto, and Torquato Tasso. The last wrote as the sixteenth century was nearing its close. They all adopted Boccaccio's meter the octave stanza. Boiardo was the most earnest and chivalric; Ariosto the most profuse, various, and stirring, and extremely attentive to the graces of language and presentment. Tasso essayed something different from Ariosto, and higher. Ariosto, along with interludes of sprightliness, and even of license, spins his web out of mere adventure—endless combats of a heroic and not quite credible kind, enchanted castles and hippogriphs and flights to the moon; much love-making; some touching episodes of sentiment, as those of Olimpia, Zerbino and Isabella, and sometimes Bradamant. The personages are conformed skilfully to certain types, but there are few that can be called characters—Rodomont, perhaps, and at some moments Orlando. There is a fascinating diversity of incident, but not of ultimate outlook. It must be said, however, that this poem by Ariosto, combined with that of his predecessor Boiardo, is so consummate a success in its own line that nothing else in European poesy can compare with it; and the combined *Orlando* is certainly by far the most entertaining long poem in any language.

Tasso undertook a nobler and more exacting theme—one of the great events of history, the first Crusade. He

sympathized deeply with his subject, and has not wholly ignored historical fact in the development of it; but he had not the intensity of purpose needed for keeping it up to the standard of epical narrative, and what are most remembered in his work are its fanciful embroideries and episodical beguilements, on the lower Ariostean level—an enchanted forest, an unexplored retreat for the loves of Armida and Rinaldo, and the like. His characters are more engaging than Ariosto's; his invention, if less profuse, is hardly less facile; his exquisiteness of style and modulation is at least equal. But on the whole his poem is the less good of the two, for it is the less self-consistent. Ariosto fully achieved what he intended; Tasso intended something better than he achieved, and something different. The question of superiority between Ariosto and Tasso has exercised many Italian critical pens.

Meanwhile there had been a plentiful literary development in other directions. Prose narrative, in the form of short tales or anecdotes, had begun as early as the thirteenth century, with the *Cento Novelle Antiche,* followed by Boccaccio's *Decameron* and the collections of Sachetti, Bandello, Cinthio, and several others. Dino Compagni's *Chronicle,* coming down to 1312, may not improbably be a genuine document of its period, though this point has been much contested of late years; and he was succeeded by the historians Giovanni and Matteo Villani, Camillo Porzio, and others. Pastoral literature, an artificial and tedious class of work, yet not incapable of exercising a certain charm, in which its defects count for almost as much as its beauties, began with the *Arcadia* of Sannazaro, and was continued by Tasso and Guarini. Drama was attempted and forcibly upheld, though not preëminently achieved, by Poliziano, Trissino, Machiavelli, Ariosto, Pietro Aretino, and Tasso. The letters of St. Catherine of Siena (fourteenth cen-

tury), and the prose chivalric romance *I Reali di Francia* by Andrea di Barberino (fifteenth century), ought not to be left wholly out of account; and the Italian novelettes of the sixteenth century were far in advance of anything produced elsewhere. It has been said, and truly, that before the middle of the sixteenth century Italy alone possessed a perfect literary language, and for a hundred years her authors remained the models for Europe, England included. Such is the potency of a few men of genius, producing their works in an intellectual and social environment that induces men of talent and cultivation to follow in their footsteps.

Omitting Dante, whom no successor even distantly rivaled, we see that Italian poetry, beginning with such men as Frederick II, Guinicelli, and Petrarch, continued to expand, and in some respects to improve, until it culminated in Torquato Tasso. After him there was no advance, but manifest retrogression. Giambattista Marini was born in Naples in 1569. It is quite possible to undervalue Marini, the author of the *Adone* and much other verse. He was a brilliant writer, and a thoroughly accomplished master of verse, not without some of the gifts of a true poet. He was over-ingenious in turn of thought and expression, over-glittering in poetic manner, over-loaded with conceits; and much of what he has left us is little better than showy verbiage with a residuum of forced sense or practical nonsense. If his contemporaries and successors had been content to rate him as a vastly clever fellow, who must be privileged to express himself in his own way, though but partially reasonable, all would have gone well. Unfortunately Marini and Marinism became popular, and Italian verse became a forcing-plot for rearing rhyme-plants more and more aberrant and irrational. Verse ceased to be one of the means for communication of common sense. If Marini had been whimsical, his successor must be futile,

and the next successor fatuous. There were of course exceptions—Chiabrera, Filicaja, and others. The painter Salvator Rosa was a brilliant satirist, and Tassoni, with his *Secchia Rapita,* was a satirical narrator who did a good stroke of work. But on the whole the Italian poetry of the seventeenth century became very much like a quaking bog, which literary explorers of the present time deem better avoided than footed.

Such a state of things could not endure forever. A reform came in the eighteenth century with Giuseppe Parini, a Milanese, the author of *Il Giorno,* a poem written in the sarcastic vein, ostensibly to extol, but in fact to ridicule and denounce, the frivolous and partly vicious daily life of good society. It was thus a reversion of the most absolute kind from the realm of flimsy fancies to that of solid sense and moral stability. This poem is a model of consistently sustained irony, with an important purpose, superior to any other attempts in that direction. Then came the operatic dramatists, Apostolo Zeno and Pietro Metastasio (Trapassi), who made this class of work a feature in poetic literature in a degree not before attained, and hardly equaled subsequently. Late in the eighteenth century appeared Vittorio Alfieri, with his numerous tragedies stamped with a Roman patriotism and severity. To a countryman of Shakespeare, these tragedies must appear lacking in some of the innermost fibers of drama; but for rigid (or indeed monotonous) elevation and laconic concentration they may challenge rivalry. The pen is sometimes almost like the pen of Tacitus in verse.

We come now to the strictly modern period of poetry. Ugo Foscolo, author of the *Sepolcri;* Vincenzo Monti, author of the *Bassvilliana;* Manzoni, in his occasional poems; Niccolini the tragedian, and some others as well, deserve an amount of detailed consideration which I cannot here apply to them. An exception must be made for

Giacomo Leopardi, the most pessimistic of thinkers and bards, and one of the most glorious of the sons of the Sun-god: "dark with excessive light," or luminous with excessive darkness. A poor, wizened semi-hunchback, the martyr of all physical ills: a transpiercing intellect, a magician of words and numbers. In the age illustrated by such masters of formative perfection as a Goethe, a Heine, a Shelley, a Victor Hugo, Leopardi holds his own with them all. Not, indeed, that the volume of his poetry is large, nor the exterior subject-matter of it exceptionally high; but he infuses the whole of it with his personality, his thought, his impeccable directness and sufficiency of phrase, his unfailing music. If we set aside Dante as being quite apart from comparison, and also Ariosto and Tasso as having cultivated a wholly different field of poesy, it is difficult to say that any Italian poet can compete with Leopardi, until we fall back upon Petrarch; and even he is not a finer executant. We are not all bound to pessimize with Leopardi; but we ought to recognize that his pessimism is founded upon basic truths, in the world of nature and of mind, of great though not final cogency. One noticeable thing about his writings is that, in spite of their unmitigated gloom, they do not produce a depressing effect on the reader. Despairing they are; but not narrowly cynical, nor oblivious of great ideals. By solidity and unity of thought, combined with brilliance of style, they brace one up to suffer, if suffering it is to be. The "progress of the species" was one of the numerous things that Leopardi did not believe in: and, before one wholly dissents from him, one has to forget Job, Homer, Æschylus, Phidias, Plato, Buddha, Julius Cæsar, Dante, Joan of Arc, Michelangelo, Shakespeare, and not a few others. Leopardi has left a larger amount of prose than of verse; and prose so admirable in balance and in pungency that

some competent judges have pronounced him to be the very best prose-writer among Italians.

Leopardi died, still young, in 1837. Since that date there have been excellent poets and novelists in Italy; Giuseppe Giusti, Giosuë Carducci; and, of quite recent living authors, Gabriele D'Annunzio, Pascoli, Ada Negri, De Amicis, Verga, and Matilde Serao. These ought to be read by anyone bent upon understanding thoroughly the nature and development of Italian literature.

In the sixteenth century, Baldassare Castiglione, author of *Il Cortigiano*, Giorgio Vasari, the historian of Italian fine art, and Benvenuto Cellini, the sculptor and jeweler, most racy of autobiographers, are prominent and unforgettable. In the seventeenth century, Galileo, illustrious in the roll of science, was, even as a master of prose style, highly distinguished. In the eighteenth century, Cesare Beccaria's book, *Dei Delitti e delle Pene* ("Crimes and Their Penalties") was the first serious attempt to introduce a reform into the grossly brutal criminal codes of Europe generally; and Carlo Goldoni, who wrote more than one hundred and fifty comedies, often in Venetian dialect, was the best comic dramatist ever produced in Italy, and was not wholly unworthy of being compared with such authors as Molière, Congreve, and Sheridan, though of a simpler order of mind, less searching, and satisfied with an easier result. In the early nineteenth century came Alessandro Manzoni, who, with his romance *I Promessi Sposi* ("The Betrothed"), figures as the leader of the romanticist party in Italy, following upon the initiative given by Walter Scott. He was succeeded by various historical novelists, of more than moderate credit; but it is a fact that romanticism is not much in the innate genius of the Italian nation. A very influential author in the way of political and ethical literature was Vincenzo Gioberti, writer of the *Primato d'Italia* and other works, who died

about the middle of the century. Far more important as a personality is Giuseppe Mazzini, the prime hero of the Italian unity and renovation (though the claim of Napoleon Bonaparte should not be entirely forgotten, as Englishmen continually do forget it). Mazzini wrote a great amount of good literature, always national in spirit, but often dealing with themes not directly political. In history, in the last two centuries, there were Muratori, Botta, Colletta, Balbo, Villari, and others; in Italian literary history, Tiraboschi and Mazzucbelli, followed by Giudici, De Sanctis, Bartoli, Settembrini, and some besides.

A slight glance should here be thrown at the literary Academies, which played so large a part in Italian letters in the period of decline. The Arcadia of Rome, founded in 1690, aimed, so far as its aim was self-conscious, at a return to simplicity. For this laudable purpose it set up a "pastoral" machinery; and not unnaturally it drifted away into the empty and the barren. There were a great number of academies all over Italy, similar to the Arcadia; and they all, in practice if not in theory, fostered an artificial standard of work, and a pretentious if partially refined outcome—pitfalls into which Italians, when left to themselves, are but too prone to plunge. Late in the eighteenth century, and early in the nineteenth, an energetic movement began, partly but not wholly pedantic, for upholding the purity of the Italian language, and the *puristi* were greatly in evidence for a long series of years. Antonio Cesari, of Verona, was a leader in this movement, an advocate of recurrence to the *aurei trecentisti.* Monti was equally prominent, but his standard was the *lingua illustre* rather than the Tuscan *trecento.*

A very able historian of Italian literature on a compendious scale, the late Richard Garnett, formulated the conclusion that, both in poetry and in prose, the

dominant aim of the writers has always been perfect form and artistic finish. This seems to be not far from the truth. But here once again we must make an exception for the one supreme man, Dante. That he both valued and realized form and finish, is obvious enough; but these were far from being the goal of his effort. What he most desired, as intensely as any poet in any language, was to deliver an all-important message. He brought to his task austerity of thought and of speech, and an almost unmatched faculty for clothing his conceptions in a vesture of words the most terse, direct, chiseled, and monumental. In this, form and finish were involved; but they were not primary, hardly even subsidiary.

A HISTORY OF

ITALIAN LITERATURE

FRANCESCO FLAMINI

THE author of this volume—scholar, historian, and critic—is one of the most learned and most industrious of the living writers of Italy. Though he is still young, he has published, besides the admirable History of Italian Literature here presented, the following works: The Tuscan Lyric of the Renaissance, before the period of Lorenzo the Magnificent (1891); A Biographical Review of Italian Literature (1893); The Pastoral Poetry of Luigi Tansillo (1893); Gleanings of Erudition and Criticism (1895); Italian Literature from 1868 to 1898; First Steps in the Study of the Divine Comedy; Hidden Meanings in the Divine Comedy; studies in the History of Italian and of Foreign Literature; and Miscellaneous Essays (1905); and The Fifteenth Century (1906). His profound knowledge of his subject, clear style, and fine editorial faculty give his books a high value and make it a satisfaction to consult them and a delight to read them.

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF ITALIAN LITERATURE

"THE Italian language," writes Pio Rajna, "is, with certain modifications and admixtures, the Florentine dialect, which, on account of its own innate power, of geographical and historical opportunities, and of the excellence of the writers that employed it, eventually prevailed over all the other dialects of our nation." All these dialects "are the perpetuation, changed in various ways in time and space, of the spoken language of Rome."

But, subjecting to her rule countries that were also ethically different from herself, Rome performed a work of political, as well as of linguistic, unification. In those regions where there were not, as in Greece, glorious literary traditions, which sufficed to defend the native speech, and where the Roman dominion was firmly established and was of long duration, the language of the conquerors was imposed on the conquered. This language was the popular Latin, something midway between the speech of the aristocracy and that of the lowest plebeians; it was substantially uniform, and gradually took the place of the preëxisting idioms. But the national divergences, to be expected in countries of such different linguistic habits, went on increasing—at first, slowly, then, after the fall of the Roman Empire and the consequent lapse of political unity, with far greater rapidity and intensity. The result was the Romance or Neo-Latin language—Italian, French, Provençal, Catalan (Spanish, Portuguese, Roumanian and Ladin). The close relationship of these tongues is a tie which must always unite in fraternal

fellowship the peoples of Italy, France, a large part of Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Rumania, and the canton of the Grisons in Switzerland. The continuity of the popular Roman language in these idioms, as well as in their subordinate dialects, is even more manifest from their analogous grammatical structure than from their lexical conformity.

In Italy, whence the Latin language had been spread by conquest, the spoken tongue continued to diverge from it more or less according to provinces: rapidly and widely in Piedmont, Lombardy and Emilia; slightly and slowly in Tuscany, where the Latin sound has been preserved with marvelous fidelity. The most noteworthy changes to which the ancient idiom of Latium has been subjected, especially after the sixth century, in the usage of the Italians, are: First, the substitution of paraphrastic forms, by means of the so-called sign-cases (prepositions to point out the cases of nouns) for the ancient declension; secondly, the loss of the neuter gender and of the passive form of the verbs, for which was gradually substituted the use of the auxiliary *essere* with the past participle; thirdly, the acquisition of the present perfect, pluperfect, and conditional moods; with the birth of a new form of the future, in place of the old, by the agglutination and ultimate fusion of the infinitive of each verb with the present indicative of the auxiliary *avere (lodareho, lodarò, loderò);* fourthly, the formation of numerous adverbs by means of the termination *mente* (ablative of *mens*). The domination of the barbarians has imported not a few foreign words into the lexicon, especially German; but such infiltrations have little effect in altering the nature of a language.

As for writings, those Italians who composed such deeds or documents in the Middle Ages as have come down to us were determined to use only Latin; and this, too, even in cases where, in their ignorance, they were evi-

dently groping their way, and where, beneath the hybrid and artificial language they imposed upon themselves, can be plainly discerned, from some vocable, or construction, or name of person or place, the speech of this or that province. In order to find an entire period in the vernacular deliberately consigned to writing, we must come down to the years 960 and 964, to which belong a charter of Capua and a charter of Teano, each containing textual words which had to be pronounced by witnesses. We are unable to discover any other until about a century later. And even later—that is, until the beginning of the thirteenth century—documents of this kind are very rare. Not until 1211 was the use of the vernacular in certain departments of writing attested by some fragments of a register belonging to Florentine bankers.

As the language of the common people was held of such little account that it was not employed in writing, even for purely practical ends, it was natural that it should not make its appearance in literary documents until a still later period. In the provinces of the ancient Empire, on the other hand, the absence of any very deep-seated consciousness of *Romanità* (that is, of a Roman character and origin), the more considerable ethnic admixture introduced by the invasions of the barbarians, the political organization that had been established long before anything of the same kind prevailed in Italy, all contributed to give an impulse to a native culture, and led to the employment of the new idioms for the purposes of art: the Neo-Latin literatures most closely related to our own—that is, the French and the Provençal—sprang to life in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and were flourishing in the twelfth. Meanwhile, Italian literature began only in the thirteenth century, and for the following reasons: we always felt that we were Romans, and we wished to remain Romans; the Latin culture was

ours; it was long before we could be induced—and then reluctantly—to abandon a glorious tongue which recorded our past grandeur, and which the Roman Church had consecrated in her liturgies.

The torch of Latin thought never was extinguished in Italy. Seemingly, the ancient culture had been hurled headlong into the abyss into which the Roman world had been precipitated. But even then, Italy always rose superior to the other parts of the Empire; and while in Africa, Spain, and Gaul this civilization fell into decrepitude, in Italy under Teodorico, King of the Goths, Boëthius and Cassiodoro represented nobly the culture of the Latin race. During the Lombard dominion, there was a return of gloomier times for our civilization; nevertheless, even in those years, the worship of the past continued to dwell in Italian hearts. Nor were cultivators of Latin studies wanting amid the stormy vicissitudes of the close of the ninth century. The frequent recurrence is very remarkable of the venerated memories of Troy, Rome, and the Capitol in the lofty and stern Latin verses in which a scholar of this period (a *clericus*) encouraged the Modenese, his fellow-citizens, to keep on the alert, with their arms on their shoulders.

In the tenth century also, in the midst of political and social conditions that were most calamitous for our Italy, we had scholars and writers. The anonymous panegyrist of Berengario I clothes his hexameters, as well as his heroes, in a classic coat of mail. Liutprando, Bishop of Verona, is a Lombard by race and sentiment, but in his principal work, a prose narrative of events from 888 to 950, interlarded here and there with verse, he shows himself familiar with the ancient authors, the Greek language and the legends of mythology. Gonzone, in the age of Otho the Great, supplies us with the type of the combative humanist, who will be so frequently met with among us four centuries later—a type, too,

that was already incarnated in those "philosophers," as they were called, who, for trying to revive the thoughts and sentiments that had perished with the ancient world, sometimes ended their lives in dungeons or at the stake.

After the tenth century, the cultivation of antiquity, so far as it is represented by the study of the classics and the ambition of emulating them, no longer found in Italy its best disciples; the universities and convents beyond the Alps attracted everyone in Europe whose object was a thorough drilling in poetic or rhetorical acquirements by becoming familiar with the ancient authors; and the names of Alano da Lille (*Alanus de Insulis*), Giovanni di Salisbury (*Joannes Sarisberiensis*), and of various other French and English scholars, flew from mouth to mouth throughout Europe. Among us, however, although theological studies were in a flourishing condition in the eleventh century, especially as shown in works of San Pier Damiano, literary productiveness in Latin seems altogether inadequate, when contrasted with the marvelous awakening of the national energy: for instance, the long poem on the conquest of the Balearic Isles, the authorship of which is uncertain, is not much superior in style and versification to the panegyric on Berengario I. The verses of Alfano, a monk of Monte Cassino, though respectable for the age in which they were written, were not widely diffused; indeed, the literary industry of the Benedictines of the famous abbey appear to have had little influence outside its walls, if we except that which was exercised in the epistolary art by the writings of Frate Alberico (*Rationes dictandi* and *Breviarium de dictamine*). In epic poetry, there were only versified chronicles, like the *Vita Mathildis* of Donizone; in lyric poetry, there was nothing that approaches the fresh and nimble measures attributed to the *goliardi,* or wandering students, of France, Germany, and England.

But, to compensate for this, the influence of Roman

thought in the eleventh and twelfth centuries worked effectively on the life of our people. Some precious characteristics of the gentle Latin blood (*latin sangue gentile*) still remained among them, and, chief of all, practical good sense and the keen intuition of reality. These qualities found a stage ready for their development in the Italian Communes. Neither did municipal strife ever lead the various provinces to forget that they were, in the words of Dante Alighieri, furrows in "the garden of the Empire"; because our people always continued to cherish, in the depths of their consciousness, the dream of a united Italy, which should be mistress of the world, This is rendered evident by more than one of the songs that deal with historical subjects, songs that are the best specimens of our mediæval Latin poetry. These innate energies of the Italic races were destined also to produce splendid fruit in another field: the study of jurisprudence, after Irnerio, was pursued with astonishing vigor in the eleventh century, especially at Bologna. Grammar and rhetoric also made great progress in consequence, for these branches were reputed to be necessary for all who aspired to a knowledge of law and medicine. Some gleams of light were reflected from this universal culture of the upper classes upon the humbler strata of Italian society in the Middle Ages, as was shown by that refinement in manners and customs which attracted the notice of foreigners. Without taking into consideration this peculiar situation in the Italian laity in the eleventh century, so different from that of every other country, it would be impossible to understand how it came to pass that, in less than two centuries, Italy could have reached such a height, and have presented to an amazed world a layman like Dante, able to accomplish in *La Commedia Divina* what no *chierico* had ever ventured to attempt.

But all this culture of the Italians before the thirteenth

century has been revealed solely in Latin writings; in Latin also was composed a didactic poem which enjoyed great favor during the Middle Ages, and which was read in the schools, the *Elegia de diversitate fortunæ et philosophiæ consolatione* (1192?) of Arrigo, born in Settimello, near Florence. No literary documents in the vernacular belonging to this period are to be found, unless we assign to the close of the twelfth century a certain enigmatic and symbolic set of verses, discovered at Monte Cassino *(Ritmo cassinese)*, in which a monk exhorts his hearers, through the medium of a sort of apologue, to despise this earthly life, and thereby win life eternal. The poetry of art (poetry among us may also be regarded as having come before prose) appears in an Italian dress only in the thirteenth century, and its early steps are guided by its maturer sisters of France and Provence.

Nor should this excite our wonder. It was precisely because the Italians had behind them an epoch of great culture that they lacked those heroic traditions of obscure and mythical origin which usually give the first impulse to an original and national poetry. On the other hand, the Roman tradition could at the time, by its own agency, give life to a literary production only in Latin, like that of which we have already spoken. In order that poets of art should arise, using this or that dialect of our peninsula, it was necessary that both the impulse and the subject matter should come to them from elsewhere; it was necessary that the ideals of chivalry should be artificially transplanted among us. These ideals were common to European feudalism, but foreign to the free populations of our Communes, who were indebted to themselves alone for their civilization. The first Italian versifiers, then, borrowed what they needed from the two literatures that were flourishing beyond the Alps and had been long universally admired; both being the

spontaneous product of a feudal and chivalrous society: the French, or the literature in the *langue d'oïl,* and the Provençal, or the literature in the *langue d'oc;* the latter idiom was in use on this side of the Loire.

Provençal literature gave us the images and the forms of the lyric of love before the age of Dante; French literature supplied us with epic and didactic-allegorical material. We are indebted to the imitation of the former, which precedes in order of time, for the oldest documents of our poetry of art.

After the eleventh century the popular poetry of Provence, though it never became extinct among the people, had climbed from the market-place to the castles, and was transformed into the genial expression of that aggregate of ideas and sentiments of a refined and courtly society which is denoted by the name of "chivalry." Among the *jongleurs,* the troubadours, as poets of art, devoted all their care to the task of polishing the verse, giving a delicate turn to the strophe, and clarifying the thought. They were nobles or burghers, *clerici* or laymen; they visited various courts, accompanied by *jongleurs* of a lower grade, when they were unable to sing their poems themselves. As these poems were always accompanied by music, perhaps the latter was the greater attraction; the theme that was received with most favor was that of chivalrous love, the devoted homage of knight to lady, as of vassal to baron. We find, in Bernardo di Ventadorn, Giraldo di Bornelhe, and some others, passages of lofty poetry, verses inspired by genuine affection, scattered among the commoplaces of a courtly poetic school; Bertrando dal Bornio was really what he seemed to Dante: an "illustrious singer of arms;" although Arnaldo Daniello, judged by Dante to be superior to all the others, because of his poetic artifices, is no longer held in esteem, it can hardly be denied that he is, in some respects, a remarkable poet.

The lyric of the troubadours, which was in its fullest flower in the second half of the twelfth century, met with fitting and joyous welcome beyond the Pyrenees and on this side of the Alps. Close political and commercial relations had united upper Italy and Provence from remote times. Various troubadours had already descended among us toward the end of the twelfth century; they were affably received in the northern courts of the Peninsula, especially by the Marquesses of Monferrato. Pierre Vidal, about 1195, composed a poem at this court which was distinctively inspired by Italian sentiment; Rambaldo de Vaqueiras, who was the recipient of favors and honors from the Marquess Bonifacio II, is the author of a bilingual dispute, in which a Genoese girl of the people spurns in her own dialect the protestations of love which the poet makes in Provençal; this work was indited about 1190, and is therefore the oldest literary document in our vulgar speech. The number of these troubadours increased in the first half of the thirteenth century, after the sanguinary crusade against the Albigensian heretics had depopulated the south of France and extinguished its flourishing civilization; the fugitive poets found among us, at that time, a second fatherland; they became keenly interested in the political vicissitudes of our country, and spread abroad throughout Italy the gay *art de trobar*. And it was not long before (in imitation of the Provençals) Italian troubadours, some of whom were soldiers, others lawyers, sprang up in the courts of our princes and in the trains of the magistrates and judges of our Communes. Wherever the *langue d'oc* was understood and appreciated by the polished society for which they wrote, they were able to turn their knowledge of it to account, and sometimes used it with masterly dexterity. In this fashion, the Marquess Alberto Malespina, Lord of Lunigiana, vied in improvised poetical contests with Rambaldo di Vaqueiras; Provençal

poems have been left us by Rambertino Buvalelli, a native of Bologna, who was the podestà of several places in Upper Italy; by Bonifacio Calvo and Lanfranco Cigala, both Genoese, the latter having been judge and governor of his native city; by Bartolommeo Zorzi, known especially by a *canzone* in which, while a prisoner at Genoa, he defended his native Venice against the vituperation of Calvo; and, among several others, by Sordello of Mantua, highly honored by Dante in the *Commedia,* and chiefly celebrated for a lament on the death of his protector, Blacasso.

While the troubadours were being imitated in Upper Italy in their own language, an effort was made in other parts of the peninsula to imitate them in Italian. In this way did our language begin to test its powers as a literary medium. The Sicilian court of Federico II, the home of chivalrous courtesy, was the natural asylum of this our first poetic flowering, which was necessarily courtly and polished, like the foreign lyric which inspired it; hence the name of Sicilian poets was bestowed on those who imitated the Provençal manner of writing poetry, whether they were Sicilians or not. "And, because Sicily was the seat of royalty," writes Dante in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia,* "it came to pass that whatever our predecessors produced in the vernacular was known as Sicilian: indeed, we ourselves still retain the term, and our descendants are not likely to be able to change it." And, in fact, even to-day, when we speak of the Sicilian school of poetry, we understand the entire lyric of Italy before Dante: a lyric uniform in characteristics and poor in sentiment, for it was but the reflex of an alien poetry, and borrowed its material from a repertory of hackneyed phrases and conventional images oftener than from truth and reality. The rhymes of these imitators of the Provençal versifiers, whether they be the work of Roman, Tuscan or Apulian, are always written in a poetic lan-

guage that is not peculiar to any city or province. The imitation of the art of the troubadours, as Rajna well observes, gave birth in the different regions of Middle and Lower Italy to a kind of literary parlance, in which, "beneath the variety, due to the indigenous dialects, was a substantial conformity, resulting from the identity of the models, the narrowness of the circle within which minds were imprisoned, and the close association of ideas produced everywhere by familiar personal intercourse." Still, the provinces that brought the largest linguistic and literary contribution to the lyric art in the vernacular, of which the Swabian Court was the center, were Sicily, Naples (in its widest signification) and Tuscany. The Emperor Federico II himself (1194-1250), and his sons Enzo and Federico of Antioch; Jacopo da Lentini, notary of the court in 1233, generally regarded as the leader of the Sicilian group; Pier della Vigna, of Capua (d. 1249), the principal counselor of the Emperor; Guido delle Colonne, judge in his native city, Messina, between 1257 and 1277; Folcacchierro de' Folcacchierri of Siena (d. before 1260); Arrigo Testa of Arezzo (1194?-1247), one of those nobles who acted as podestà in various lands, all contributed to the diffusion that the lyric acquired in the courts. They have bequeathed to us a poetic collection of Provençal imitations as copious as it is poor in artistic value, if we except the meters, among them the new and important sonnet.

We are more largely indebted to the *langue d'oïl,* and for something far superior: its epic and romantic substance.

In France the heroic ideal of feudal society had been magnificently developed in the *chansons de geste,* in which the Carolingian legend of the humble Chronicle of Saint Gall soared to the heights of the *Canzone d'Orlando (Chanson de Roland,* or Song or Roland). In course of preparation from the times of Clovis, entering upon its

dawn with Charles Martel, attaining its apogee under the Emperor Charlemagne, and effectively renovated under Charles the Bald and his first successors, the full development of epic song on the other side of the Alps coincides with the formative work of French nationality. During the period in which the Gallo-Romans were amalgamating with the Franks, and both becoming one people, the record of common glories and common heroisms was sung at court, and among nobles and warriors, in the new idiom and the new meters of the Romanized Franks. Singers fitted for the task, called *joglers* (Latin, *joculares)* or *jogledors (joculatores),* that is to say, *jongleurs,* are known, after the ninth century, to have made it their custom to travel from castle to castle, and often to accompany military expeditions, provided with a viol and a bow very much curved. They spread far and wide the heroic tales, connected them with one another, and often gave them a certain degree of unity. Such was the origin of the *chansons de geste,* or "songs of history," which, bound together in strophes of unequal length by a common rhyme or assonance, were chanted by the *jongleurs* and accompanied by a very simply melody on the *vielle.*

Among these *chansons,* the *Song of Roland* stands out preëminent as an imposing and singular monument in the history of civilization and poetry. A historical fact of slight importance—the destruction of the rear-guard of Charlemagne, on his return from a victorious expedition into Spain, by the Basque mountaineers in the pass of Roncesvalles in the Pyrenees—altered and magnified by romantic imaginations, became the center of the Carolingian cycle, that is, of the stories that treat of the deeds of Charlemagne and his paladins. In the legend, the assailants are not Basques, but Saracens; a Frank, Gano or Ganelon, betrays his companions; Roland (Ital. *Orlando*), Count of the March of Brittany, one of the three distinguished leaders that perished in the

ambuscade, is transformed into the dauntless and terrible protagonist and champion of Christendom, nephew of the Emperor and first of the "twelve peers"; and, finally, Charlemagne, who was thirty-six years old in 778, is represented as a hoary patriarch of two hundred years, but withal, as valiant as he is sage. The *Song of Roland* has an almost childish simplicity in the redaction of Turoldo, a *trouvère,* perhaps a Norman or Anglo-Norman, belonging to the second half of the eleventh century. There is little art in it, but a good deal of real and vigorous poetry. The narrative is involved and not free from repetitions and diffuseness, but it fairly quivers with religious and national enthusiasm. Those spirited hendecasyllables (decasyllables, according to the French metre) succeed one another in rhythmic and uniform movement, each enclosing a thought within itself, just as the *laisse* encloses an epic scene.

The *Song of Roland* is a poem epically austere, without any intrusion of chivalrous adventures or gallantries, the poem of Christian feudalism in its struggle with the Infidel. Besides this, and other *chansons* of a pure, archaic type, mediæval France has supplied us with poems, no longer the work of *jongleurs,* but of men of letters, in which the subject-matter is taken from the strange romantic stories of the Græco-Roman decadence. Thus, from the Greek romance of the Pseudo-Calisthenes, which, about the second century of our era, had accumulated around Alexander the Great the marvels of the Oriental tales, a long French poem was indirectly derived, written in verse which, from the name of the hero, was somewhat later called *alexandrine;* the Macedonian hero is naïvely represented in the poem as a sort of king-cavalier surrounded by his barons. In the same way, Benedetto di Sainte More obtained from the widely circulated romances of Dares the Phrygian and Dictys the Cretan on the Trojan war the material for his *Roman*

de Troie in thirty thousand verses. The romances belonging to the cycles which share among them the trans-Alpine narrative material of the Middle Ages, the British, or Arthurian cycle, or cycle of the Round Table, possess in common with these poems of the "cycle of antiquity" the type of the "adventurous knight."

In England a national epic had grown up among the Britons, or Celts who had survived the Roman conquest, during the terrible and disastrous struggle they were compelled to sustain against the Germanic invaders. Some of the British singers, wandering through France, brought thither, through the medium of short tales set to music, the knowledge of their legends; these were repeated in little French poems; finally, the "matter of Britain" was utilized for an immense number of romances, which did not take their subjects—as did the poems of the Carolingian cycle—from the great enterprises of nations and armies, but from the loves and adventures of which the Knights of the Round Table, who encircled Arthur, were ever in quest. Famous above all others were those which sing of Tristan and his love for Isolt; likewise, several bequeathed to us by Cristiano of Troy, who has drawn from the British romance the most perfect representation of the chivalrous ideals of high French society in the twelfth century.

From the vast collection of these stories of the Round Table, an Italian, whom we shall meet later, Rusticiano da Pisa, made a compilation in French prose about the year 1270. In the same fashion, the tales of the Carolingian cycle gave rise, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the Marca Trivigiana, or rather in all the country "that Po and Adige water," to a harvest of poems that are no longer French, and cannot yet be styled Italian.

The knowledge of the tongue of *oïl* was diffused throughout Italy in the thirteenth century; but there

were fewer impediments to its use for literary purposes in the northern part of the peninsula, as it was nearest to France. There the trans-Alpine *jongleurs,* propagators of the *gesta* of Charlemagne, could not only be understood, but imitated in their own language. However, this language was gradually falling into local dialetic sounds and forms on the lips of our *jongleurs,* while, at the same time, the legendary matter was being enriched by new inventions and was taking on new attitudes. There was, in short, a Franco-Italian substance in a Franco-Italian, or, more specifically, in a Franco-Venetian language, and a kind of cyclic compilation of Carolingian poems in this hybrid idiom has come down to us, due to a very unpolished Venetian rhymester, in which the deviations from the French texts are numerous; the scene is sometimes laid in Italy, and, as in our later poems or romances, the traitors are allied to the house of Maganza, the loyal knights to that of Chiaramonte.

With the *Entrée de Spagne,* a vast poem by an anonymous Paduan, and with the *Prise de Pampelune* of Niccolò of Verona, which is a continuation of it, the Italian chivalrous epic takes a signal step on the road that will lead it to the attainment of its own life. No French poem had treated of the victorious expeditions of Charlemagne into Spain before the ambuscade of Roncesvalles: the *Entrée* and the *Prise* make it their chief subject. Furthermore, there is in the former a romantic episode of which Roland is the protagonist, and which anticipates the fusion of the Carolingian matter with the British, that was subsequently to take place among us; in the latter, the author, who was not a plodding *jongleur,* but a poet of art, aims at connecting the romance with historical records (as another writer does later in the *Reali di Francia*), not only by the consistent unity of the narrative, but by welcoming, together with classic

reminiscences, the Italian national element also among the Carolingian *gesta,* or, in other words, by introducing a new hero: Desiderio, King of the Lombards. And in both these poems figure types of characters that had a large development in our romantic poetry: the cunning and comical Estout, and the Astolfo of Boiardo and Ariosto.

In this manner was elaborated the epic matter which in the centuries following was to give rise to masterpieces. The *Prise* and the other poems of Niccolò of Verona, belonging already to the fourteenth century, are composed in fairly good French, although intermingled with Italian dialectic elements. In addition to these poems, we have some of a more popular style, probably intended to be recited by ballad-singers, in which, while the idiomatic substance is Venetian, the surface is French *(Bovo d'Antona, Rainardo e Lessengrino).* And, almost contemporaneously, the street singers of Tuscany amused the common folk with poetic narratives of the deeds of Charles and his paladins (also, but not so often, with those of the knights-errant of Arthur), written in the dialect destined to become the literary language of this province.

As has been said, the stimulus, as well as the models, for didactic-allegoric poetry also came to us from France in the thirteenth century. The example of Boëthius and of Marciano Capella, the allegorical treatises in Latin of Alano da Lille, and, in short, the fondness of Mediæval minds for symbol and allegory, impelled Guillaume di Lorris, and his continuator, Jean de Meung, to compose in that century the enormous Romance of the Rose *(Roman de la rose),* which is an allegorical representation, in the form of a vision, of the vicissitudes of love, personified in their various moments and in the lasting qualities and conditions of mind that determine them. It was quickly diffused throughout Europe, and in Italy

several allegorical poems in the vernacular gave evidence of its influence in the second half of the thirteenth century: for instance, the *Tesoretto* of Brunetto Latini, the *Documenti d'amore,* and *Il reggimento e costumi di donna* of Francesco Barberino, and the *Intelligenzia.*

The *Tesoretto,* of whose author we shall speak later, is simply an abridgment, in rhymed Italian couplets, of a part of the great French encyclopædia of Latini himself. The poetic and allegoric garb, as well as the form of a journey through fantastic regions, was intended, no doubt, to embellish and illustrate science; but, when it does not darken it, it renders its aridity more sensible, and makes its extravagance and subtlety more visible to the eye. More important are the two poems of Francesco Barberino di Val d'Elsa (1264-1348), a notary, and afterward a doctor of laws. He lived for some time in France, and followed French and Provençal models in the *Documenti d'Amore,* which consists of moral instructions imparted by Love through the medium of Eloquence, and in the *Reggimento e costumi di donna,* a dissertation in verse of various measures, for the most part unrhymed, and intermingled with prose. The author teaches women the best way of conducting themselves in their different states and conditions; he introduces allegorical figures on the scene and points the moral by means of pleasant little stories. In the second of these poems, which belongs to the fourteenth century, if *Madonna,* who is the principal personification, represents universal intelligence, there is a close approach in the subject of it to the *Intelligenzia,* attributed to Dino Compagni and undoubtedly written before it. There are three hundred and nine strophes in *nona rima,* which derive their title from the allegorical signification of the Lady who is loved and described by the poet. She wears a crown of sixty gems, the fabulous virtues of which are enumerated by the author, according to the symboliza-

tion of the lapidaries of the age; and she dwells in a palace whose walls are lined with sculptures and pictures, all representing ancient histories, which he expounds with great prolixity, especially that of Julius Cæsar, as was to be expected from a follower of French models.

The celebrated Romance of the Rose also gave birth to many imitations between the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth. Not to mention a fragment in septenarian couplets *(Detto d'Amore)*, it has been abridged and skilfully condensed into two hundred and thirty-two stanzas in the form of sonnets; this abridgment is usually entitled *Il Fiore,* and is attractive because of the freedom of the language and sentiment, and the life and force of the symbolical images themselves. It was adapted to the taste of Italian readers by a certain Florentine named Durante (who might even be Dante Alighieri!).

Besides the lyric of art—imitated from the Provençals, the chivalrous epic, and the didactic-allegorical rehandling of French material—there was at the beginning of our literature a humbler but purely indigenous form of poetry: that poetry which in every country springs spontaneously from the heart of the people, and is afterward worked up and developed by unknown singers. The documents of this poetry, in the form in which they have been preserved for us, are always the workmanship of a plebeian versifier or of a *jongleur* who has succeeded in giving, in some fashion or other, literary form and opportune effectiveness to the fugitive, and often unconscious, expressions of the individual sentiments of the people; while the latter, on the other hand, finding itself in his work, appropriates it, repeats it, and transforms it in a thousand ways, according to its caprice. Themes as simple as those which these singers caught from the lips of the people itself might, like wild flowers,

expand under the most diverse regions of heaven; and so, in the medley of popular songs, it is not difficult, when reascending the course of the ages, to discern a certain number of subjects that are always and everywhere the special predilection of the vulgar, as for instance, the lamentations of the *monaca per forza,* of the *malmaritata,* and of the *fanciulla anelante alle nozze.* Such were the subjects, then, of our popular amatory lyric in the thirteenth century. We find them, with others still more unseemly, in the coarsely plebeian *ballate* which the Bolognese notaries used, absentmindedly, to mark down here and there in their memoranda; they are very ancient examples of that form of poetry intended for simultaneous singing and dancing, and are presented to us in metrical forms which have the primitive rhythmical and musical simplicity.

Certain versifiers of the Sicilian school also, who were not averse to the modes and forms dear to the people, like Giacomino, the Apulian, Odo delle Colonne, and Rinaldo d'Aquino, looked favorably on these themes or "motives." The lament which the last of these has placed in the mouth of a woman abandoned by her husband, or her crusader lover, develops, but with greater art, the subject matter of an anonymous *Lamento della sposa paduana.* The famous *contrasto* of Cielo d'Alcamo *(Rosa fresca aulentissima c'apari 'nver la state)* in strophes of three alexandrine verses on a single rhyme with the first hemistich ending in two unaccented syllables, and closing with a rhymed couplet of hendecasyllables, is a dialogue between a petulant lover and his mistress, who, while she fences with him, seems willing to surrender, a dialogue of manifestly popular inspiration in manner, meter and language. This *contrasto,* although not anterior to 1231, is certainly very ancient. In times still more remote, a form of popular amorous poetry appears to have sprung up in Sicily, belonging to every part

of Italy: the *strambotti* (erotic songs), which are short *canzoni* of one or more stanzas of eight verses, all originally rhyming alternately (the so-called Sicilian octaves), but later the first six rhyme alternately, and the last two form a rhymed couplet (the common octaves).

Furthermore, in the thirteenth century, and perhaps even before, the vernacular was used in the literature of the *jongleurs,* which propagated certain poetic forms among all the Neo-Latin nations. In Italy, too, as well as in France, series of verses, with the same rhyme, and tetrastic strophes, likewise with the same set of rhymes, were originally the commonest meters of narrative and didactic popular poetry. The first rhyme-scheme occurs in the *cantilena* of a Tuscan *jongleur,* belonging, perhaps, to the twelfth century, and is employed in a little Veronese poem on *La passione e risurrezione,* as well as in other non-lyrical compositions of the thirteenth century. The second is not only an adjunct of the meter of certain proverbs on the character of women, which, together with an ascetic *Libro* of Uguccione of Lodi, are placed among the oldest poetic documents of the Italian dialects; but it was employed by Frà Giacomino of Verona, a Franciscan, in two short poems which describe, with coarse *naïveté,* the pains of hell and the joys of paradise, and by Bonvesin of Riva, a well-to-do Milanese, indifferently educated, and enrolled in the third order of the Umigliati (an order for laymen) in *contrasti,* legends and moral discourses, of which he wrote, during the last decades of the thirteenth century, a respectable number.

This dialectal poetry of Upper Italy, although destitute of artistic value, is worthy of note for the antiquity of some of its compositions and for the vivid reflections in them of the parenetic or expository ballads of the *jongleurs.* The poems already mentioned, as well as an-

other by Pietro da Barsegapé, a Milanese noble of the second half of the thirteenth century, and certain paraphrases of prayers (among them a *Decalogo* and a *Salve Regina* of 1253 in the Bergamese dialect) were intended by their authors, all monks or men sincerely devout, to supplant among the people the frivolous narratives and scurrilous discourses of the *jongleurs.* But, although they opposed the latter, they imitated them; so that these authors themselves became a sort of religious *jongleurs,* skilful in reciting, and often also in clothing with musical notes the verses of others and their own. In a word, it was not unusual, in the thirteenth century, to see profane *jongleurs* and "*jongleurs* of God" amusing and instructing the people in the same public squares; so that it was very natural that both should avail themselves of kindred sounds and kindred forms. For, as we know, that populace had its own songs, with which, especially in spring, it was wont to guide the dances of women and youths (*carole* or *tresche*) in an open or enclosed space on verdant meadows under the clear sky. The profane *jongleurs* made these ballads their own, or else, omitting the chorus, changed them, sometimes into a *detto,* sometimes into a *serventese;* the *jongleurs* of God, while preserving them metrically intact, delved in them for *laudi* in honor of Christ, the Virgin, or this or that saint. Of this character was a *ballata,* which has not come down to us, composed in 1255 by a *jongleur* of Pistoia, named Guidaloste, and paid for by the Commune of Siena, to celebrate the capture of the castle of Torniella. But only fragments of the songs made in this fashion have been preserved, among which the oldest is part of a *cantilena* in the Bergamese dialect of 1193, and the most noteworthy is a lament of the women of Messina (1282). Quite different are the historical rhymes, written between the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth by an anonymous author,

in the dialect of Genoa: a real poetical diary, with an intermixture of legends, proverbs, moral observations and prayers. But the popular sacred lyric is much more important, and not destitute of a certain artistic value.

The cradle of this lyric was Umbria, the center of the Franciscan movement, where the work of the Serafico of Assisi had been most efficacious. The *Cantico del Sole* or *Cantico delle Creature,* attributed to St. Francis (d. 1226), in which the Supreme Artificer is praised in his creatures, the sweet name of brother or sister being given to each, is a prose "in numbers," with frequent rhymes and assonants, on the type of the Latin sequences of the Church. To these sequences (which in the liturgy take also the name of *lauds,* on account of their contents) are united, precisely because of their contents, the *lauds,* or sacred songs in the vernacular, first used (at least, in the form in which we have them) by the confraternity of the Flagellants or Disciplinati; songs which, metrically, are *ballate.* The companies that used them sprang into existence in 1258 among the populace of Umbria, which had been stirred up by the voice of an old hermit who exhorted them to do penance; and, perhaps, at that time, the rude *cantilene,* which were expressive of the compunction and religious enthusiasm of the crowds, and which the Flagellants intoned for their benefit, were confided to writing. Certainly, every confraternity formed for itself its own poetic patrimony. Very soon the Flagellants, excited to frenzy by their flagellations, wandered beyond the confines of Umbria, scatterings their *lauds* everywhere, especially in Tuscany, where, about the end of the thirteenth century, we find them in great repute at Cortona and Borgo San Sepolcro; and there was one far-famed singer of *lauds,* too, Jacopone of Todi.

Ser Jacopo Benedetti (1230?—1306) was leading a gay and bustling life in his native Todi, when the sudden

death of his wife at a marriage feast, and the discovery of a hair shirt beneath her rich clothing, so agitated his conscience, and, to some extent, his brain, as to lead him not only to despise the world, but to conduct himself often like a man out of his mind. This sacred madness made him the best of the *jongleurs* of God to whom we have already alluded. His *lauds,* composed in the Umbrian dialect and in the form of the popular *ballate,* were smooth, spirited and rhythmical, and when sung to the crowds—which may have repeated the refrain between strophe and strophe in chorus—at one time moved those who heard them to tears; at another, thrilled them with terror; now childishly simple, now roughly jocular, but ever inflamed with a "fire of love" for heavenly things, which sometimes took on material or sensuous appearances. But the artisans and peasants of Umbria were enthusiastic about the strange hermit, their own Jacopone, so humble with the humble, so proud and frank with the powerful. Besides his ascetic poems, he has left us some very vigorous satires against Celestino V and Bonifazio VIII: against the former, because he proved incapable of giving effect to the ideal of the Franciscan *poverelli,* among whom Jacopone, after ten years' penance, had been enrolled as a simple tertiary; against the latter, because he was a persecutor of Celestine, of the *poverelli,* and of the poet himself. Nor did he engage in war with Pope Bonifazio in words only; he conspired with the Colonna faction to force him to abdicate. But he was taken prisoner, confined in chains in a subterranean dungeon, and was not released until that Pontiff's death.

The poems of Jacopone have reached us intermingled with those of his companions and followers. In the editions we possess there are, in addition to the lyrical *lauds,* some true and characteristic dialogues or *contrasti.* The sacred *ballate* or *lauds* of the confraternity of Disci-

plinati often assumed a representative form, doubtless from some unconscious recollections of the histrionic *contrasti* on profane subjects. Their matter was taken directly from the texts of the liturgy: the Latin liturgical dramas furnished both the stimulus and the model of these dramatic *lauds*. The Church, at first sternly opposed to stage plays, had, later, welcomed them to her embraces. On solemn festivals, an element was added to the symbolic representation of the Passion, which takes place at mass, and became an integral part of divine service; this element, subsequently developed and amplified, finally drew away from the latter and departed from the temple. As early as 1244, the Passion was performed at Padua in the Prato del Valle. In imitation of these spectacles, the *laud* singers of Umbria and of the Abruzzo, on the recurrence of the sacred festivals, represented, with a very simple scenic apparatus, at a spot between the walls of the church and the oratory of their confraternity, scenes appropriate to the festival that was being celebrated. They paraphrased, for the most part, the words of the Bible; but we also meet in their dialogistic *lauds* realistic traits that are the germs of ulterior developments, as was shown later in the *Devozioni del giovedí e del venerdí Santo,* written in the first half of the fourteenth century, in which the expression of the affections is marked by greater force, and the Biblical matter treated with greater freedom; the *ottava rima* appears in this work in its full perfection.

One species of poetry that was frankly plebeian and yet was by no means of popular origin, owed its existence to certain witty and eccentric rhymes of the thirteenth century. Gerardo Patecchio (Pateg) of Cremona, a rather gay notary of the first half of the period, besides a string of moral precepts, has left in the *Noie,* akin to the *enuegs* of the Provençals, a curious enumeration of unpleasant things to be shunned, which will be imi-

tated later by Pucci. Besides the *Noie,* he wrote another poem on the *Piaceri.* Both the pains and pleasures were reviewed—not with the view of conveying instruction sportively, but with satiric intent—by Folgore da San Gemignano and Cene dalla Chitarra. The former in his youth sang wittily in twelve sonnets the jovial occupations which should, in his opinion, be followed during the several months of the year by a merry company of Siena, which, it appears, was the *spendthrift crew* mentioned by Dante (*Inferno,* XXIX, 130), and in seven others, written for a friend, the delights peculiar to each day of the week; the latter, in direct opposition to the pleasures of Folgore's "crown of the months," describes in the same number of sonnets their vexations and irritating miseries, and parodies the verses of his opponent. The lives of these two versifiers stretched into the fourteenth century. Rustico di Filippo and Forese Donati, both Florentines, did not live beyond the thirteenth. Rustico, to whom Brunetto Latini addressed a poetical letter (the *Favolello*), composed burlesque sonnets which represent naturally and vigorously the small troubles of daily life; Forese, brother of Messer Corso and Picardia Donati, engaged in a rhyming contest with Dante, his intimate friend (*Purgatorio,* XXIII, 48 *et seq.*), in which he banters him playfully. But among all the burlesquers of the period, Cecco Angioleri of Siena is preëminent. He flourished in the second half of the thirteenth century, and carried on also a poetical correspondence (not always friendly, by any means) with Dante. In numerous and really original sonnets, he sang, with a naturalness and a characteristic humor that give him a stamp of modernity, his amorous misadventures, his poverty and his quarrels with his father, a wealthy man, as miserly as he himself was wasteful for the sake of "woman, wine and dice." Laughter and weeping alternate in

these rhymes, and the soul of the poet is laid bare with singular crudity and sincerity.

The imitators of the Provençal troubadours, whom we have already mentioned, by merely copying a literature, at this time in its decadence, and, at its best, noted for subtlety and artifice, could give to Italy only wretched lyrics. Even in Tuscany their experiments were the reverse of successful. Guittone d'Arezzo, (d. 1294), one of the Jolly Friars *(Frati godenti)* of the military order of the Cavalieri di Santa Maria Gloriosa, wrote amorous and moral poems full of Latinisms and conceits borrowed from the troubadours; yet he was much admired, and created a school; nor could it be otherwise in an age which bestowed on the nebulous Arnaud Daniel the chief honors of the Provençal Parnassus. The *chiuso parlare or dittato forte,* by confusing the judgment, served as a convenient cloak to hide the emptiness of the matter, Guittone may have in art his own special physiognomy, but its lineaments are harsh and angular. His followers, the Pisans (Bacciarone, Pannuccio, Pucciandone Martelli, etc.) carried his faults to monstrous excesses by their fondness for accumulating interior rhymes, and inversions or hyperlatons, after the Latin fashion.

The Italian amorous lyric was first liberated from the conventionalism of the Provençal imitators in learned Bologna, where Guinizelli gave a philosophical turn to Italian poetry, and spread abroad the new doctrine of love, for which he is highly admired by Dante. Guido Guinizelli de' Principi, a doctor and podestà of Castelfranco in 1270, after beginning as a follower of Guittone, initiated, probably influenced by the ascendancy of the studies of eloquence and philosophy, which were cultivated in the Bolognese schools in union with jurisprudence, a new style of poetry which was essentially didactic, and was profound and subtle in conception, and graceful in form. Thus our native tradition, the legacy

of a glorious past, began finally to work upon the new literature in the vernacular also, as well as on the lyric of art, hitherto shackled by foreign imitation; and then, too, began that *dolce* style, of which Guinizelli was hailed by Dante with filial reverence as the master, but which was speedily transplanted from the austere city of scholiasts to more congenial soil. The author of the famous canzone, *Al corgentile ripara sempre Amore,* did not make disciples in his native Bologna; but the poetical school which aimed at the sincere expression of feeling, the true mission of the lyric, while continuing to reproduce some of the poetic measures of the Provençals, flourished at the close of the thirteenth century in Florence, as a natural and almost necessary product of the civil and intellectual condition of this city.

Florence, the home of courtesy, good breeding and chivalry, made welcome whatever could be adapted to the needs of a free people. The high standard of its civic virtues did not interfere with its lighthearted propensity for festivals and tournaments, at which the verses declaimed on such occasions by rhymesters like Ciacco dell' Anguillaia and Compagnetto da Prato were more noteworthy for plebeian arrogance than for the refinement of courtly poetry; Chiaro Davanzati, who is known to have fought at Montaperti (1260), has seldom shown, in his numerous songs, any affinity with the new poetry, either. Nevertheless, the *bella scola,* to which Dante belonged, and which, because of the expression he uses in opposing it to the preceding school of Jacopo da Lentini, Guitton d'Arezzo and Bonagiunta da Lucca (*Purgatorio,* XXIV, 57) is usually called the *dolce stile novo,* sprang up in Florence, perhaps independently of the design and authority of this or that poet, the result, apparently, of a simultaneous and spontaneous concurrence of various intellects in the same artistic ideal. Composed by poets of the White party, who were, however, more or less

moderately democratic, it gathered the humble *ballata* from the mouths of the people, and elevated it to the dignity of a form of art which was always distinguished for exquisite grace. Thus the dominant city of Tuscany, which, in the latter decades of the thirteenth century, had succeeded in offering the most perfect example of popular government, was able to give to Italy the lyric of the new art (art, not manner, as in the case of the Sicilians and the followers of Guittone), the chief characteristic of which is the variety of the forms; that is, liberty in art indissolubly united with liberty in civil life.

And, indeed, each of the poets of the *dolce stile,* all of whom are agreed in making the inspiration of Love the controlling force of their poetry, is marked by a very powerful impress of individuality. In the verses of Lapo Gianni (of the Ricevreti family), a Florentine notary of the latter part of the thirteenth century and the early part of the fourteenth, there is a peculiar vigor both of language and imagery; in Dino Frescobaldi, a fellow-citizen and contemporary of Lapo, the expression of grief is most vivid and effective; Cino da Pistoia, known also by the name of de' Sinibuldi or Sigisbuldi, a famous jurist, sometimes exhibits the bitter and cruel voluptuousness of sorrow which constrains some minds to yearn for the horrible. But all three poets aim at sweetness and subtlety: sweetness of words, subtlety of thought; the most conspicuous characteristic of all of them is a mystic ideality. Love with them is often confounded with the sentiment of Christian charity; the lady, represented as an instrument of salvation, seems to reflect, in her appearance, her smile, and the ineffable gentleness of her movements, a ray of heavenly light. Hence the *umiltà,* unceasingly extolled in their ladies by these rhymes, and this humbleness is nothing else but the serene internal peacefulness that shines through the countenance; hence

the repetition in their poems of forms and *motifs,* which gives rise to a conventionalism different from that of the Provençal imitators, but not the less manifest on that account: the pale color, the beneficent effects of the presence of the beloved object, the tremors which the mere sight of her causes in the poet, the speaking and working spirits. It is natural, then, the lady being enveloped in that veil of ideality, that the poet should approach her timidly, and that she should purify the poet, giving him strength and guidance on the path of virtue by means of a smile or a glance. As to the spirits, whole tribes of which find hospitality in the rhymes of these poets, the conception that the modes and principles of life had their source in a subtle fluid was taken from the teachings of the Aristotelians and Thomists.

But, however tiresome this new mythology of personifications of the psychic faculties may seem, it aided wonderfully the poets of the new art in reproducing and unfolding the most trivial adventures, the most fugitive contingencies of love. On the other hand, the candor, the grace, the profound intimacy of feeling, which illumined their measures, force us to pass over what is unreal and artificial. Above all, it is pleasant in these poems to see the pensive and modest maiden supplanting the dame, the châtelaine, who is always posturing, gravely or gallantly, in the *canzone* of the troubadours. And images of singular force are to be found, in Cavalcanti especially, a genuine lyrist, and often so close to Dante as to be almost confounded with him. Guido Cavalcanti (1259?-1300), one of the leaders of the Whites, was already a famous *trovatore* when our greatest poet composed his first sonnet: being the older man, he had adopted the new art some time before Alighieri, who addresses his juvenile productions to him in words of affection and deference. As Dante, then, was neither his precursor nor his master, he possessed in Guido a brother in art,

simply a little more advanced in years than himself. A scornful and somewhat incredulous poet-philosopher, Cavalcanti continued the Guinizelli tradition; but he was, as "spokesman of love in vulgar speech," æsthetically superior to the Bolognese.

> "One Guido from another Guido wrested
> The glory of our tongue."—*Purgatorio,* XI, 97-8.

One of his *canzoni* on the origin and nature of the amorous sentiment was regarded as the purest example of poetic diction in contemporary poetry, and, for a long time, was the source of many commentaries. We moderns prefer the sonnets (two of which, like some of Guinizelli's, are parodies), and the fresh and vigorous *ballate,* the inspiration of which is sometimes drawn from the pleasing and elegant trans-Alpine *pastorelle.* The poem, so sad and despairing, which he wrote in sickness, far from his Tuscany *(Perch' i' non spero di tornar giammai)* is one of the sweetest and loveliest things in all our lyric poetry.

Dante, who fixed the principal canon of the new poetry and gave it its most perfect models, also quickly raised, as we shall presently see, the vernacular prose to a noteworthy height. Poor, indeed, had it been before him! Although used in writings on domestic subjects, like certain *Ricordi* of the Sienese Mattasalà di Spinello de' Lambertini, which begin in 1231, its first experiments, with a literary purpose, were made in the epistles of Guittone d'Arezzo; the work is a strange and artificial imitation, in its long periods and in its style, of the scholastic and law-Latin which the *Artes dictandi* was at the time teaching, with a parade of precepts and examples. But the Latin language still continued to be regarded as the most suitable instrument for narrative and didactic matter. By its side French, as the most universal and "delectable" of the Romance tongues, was employed equally in his-

tories and in treatises; and, in addition to Rusticiano of Pisa, who has been already mentioned, Aldobrando, a native of Florence or Siena, wrote in French, in 1256, the *Régime du corps,* Martino da Canale the *Chronique des Veniciens,* between 1257 and 1275, and the Florentine, Brunetto Latini *Li livres dou Trésor,* about 1265. Latini (1210?-1294), a notary and a busy citizen of the Guelph party, was highly esteemed by his contemporaries as "a great philosopher and a supreme master of rhetoric." In the *Trésor* ("Treasure") he has built up one of those vast encyclopædic compilations which in the Middle Ages served to spread a knowledge of science among those who were unable to have many costly books at hand. The work was written in France, in the *langue d'oïl,* and was widely popular on the other side of the Alps. It was translated into Italian, almost as soon as it appeared, by Bono Giamboni, and the last part, which teaches rhetoric, on the lines of the *De inventione* of Cicero, and politics, accompanied by explanations partly original and full of practical sense, must surely have contributed "to civilize the Florentines, to render them conversant with good language and to make them knowing in the ways of guiding and governing the Republic," which is the chief eulogy conferred on Brunetto by Vilani.

Original works in Latin and French were very soon followed by translations, which were now and then travesties, from both languages; some orations of Cicero were translated by Ser Brunetto himself; Italian versions of Vegetius and Paulus Orosius were made by Giamboni, a Florentine judge, in the second half of the thirteenth century; Frà Guidotto of Bologna epitomized, in his native dialect, between 1254 and 1266, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* with the title of *Fiore di retorica,* and this little work, being found useful by those who were obliged by their official duties to speak in public, was revised by a Tuscan (perhaps Giamboni himself) and afterward by others.

Several works in low, recent, or contemporary Latin were also translated into the vernacular: the so-called *Book of Cato,* a collection of maxims attributed to Cato and adopted as a school book; the *Elegia* of Arrigo da Settimello; the moral dissertations composed by Albertano, a judge of Brescia, between 1238 and 1248; and the *Deregimine principum* of the famous Roman, Egidius, translated in 1288 from a French version of the Latin original. In the more elegant circles, French romances of arms and love were read chiefly, either in the original or in Italian translations. We possess two of these, treating of the adventures of Tristan, which are important. An anonymous writer abridged in the *Conti d'antichi cavalieri* a longer heroic narrative in the *Langue d'oïl;* another extracted an *Istorietta troiana* from the romance of Benoît de Sainte More; the *Fatti di Cesare* were taken from a purely French text. On the other hand, people of little cultivation were perfectly satisfied with such humble monastic legends as the *Dodici conti morali,* a version in Italian prose of the same number of tales *(fabliaux)* applied to a moral purpose, and the *Fiori* (or *Fioretti*), which narrated, often with childish simplicity, the words and deeds of famous persons.

Like the prose of the *Fiori* is that of the *Novellino,* the oldest collection of Italian stories. It contains a hundred narratives, for the most part brief and rather unsubstantial; they have a great variety of plots, and were derived from many different sources, namely: the Bible, the French romances or *fabliaux,* the Provençal biographies of the troubadours, oriental legends, and classical traditions strangely distorted in certain books of the Middle Ages; also from chronicles, and, finally, the tales current among the people of Florence, to which city the anonymous author, who lived in the latter part of the thirteenth century and the early part of the fourteenth, belonged. The style of the little work is simple

and concise, but disconnected; it was revised, and new stories were added to it a little later. Nor are our first original prose writings on didactic and historical subjects, though different in form, of much value. The most noticeable are: the treatise *Della composizione del monde* ("Compositions of the world") written in 1282 by Ristoro of Arezzo in his native dialect; the *Fiore di virtú* ("Flowers of Virtue") of Tommaso Gozzadini the Bolognese (second half of the thirteenth century), a little book of maxims and moral examples, which, when revised and turned into Tuscan in the succeeding century, became popular; a little chronicle of Pisa, also one of Lucca, and a third one of Florence, the latter erroneously attributed to Ser Brunetto; likewise *La battaglia di Montaperti,* told by an anonymous writer of Siena. Frà Salimbene of Parma, the true historian of the thirteenth century, wrote, not in the vernacular, but in Latin. He is the author of a chronicle which is entirely made up of anecdotes, digressions and curious incidents. His Latin, however, has already the lineaments of the new idiom, which was later used in the *trecento* for narrative and scientific prose, with versions from the mother tongue and from the French. Especially noteworthy among the former is the treatise on agriculture by Pier de' Crescenzi, and among the latter the *Milione* of Marco Polo, written by Rusticiano of Pisa in French in 1298, and afterward turned into Italian by others. To the thirteenth century also belongs the *Introduzione alle virtú,* attributed to Giamboni; it is written with simplicity of style in the pure Florentine speech, and in the form of an allegorical journey with symbolical personifications; among them, Philosophy, the guide and mistress of the poet.

This form and this speech, about the same time, served Dante Alighieri for the *Commedia.*

CHAPTER II

THE GREAT TUSCANS OF THE TRECENTO

THE persistent intensity of the struggles between warring passions and ideas in the old Florentine Commune, which every year renewed its youth on the first of May amid dances, music and shouts of rejoicing, is a highly interesting spectacle. The robust intellects of the city were trained from boyhood to think and to act; within its walls reverberated the great disputes that were dividing the Christian world. Only a people schooled in this fashion could have produced a work like the *Commedia* of Dante, which while mirroring its fruitful and stormy life in a supernal ideal, at the same time welcomed all the formative principles of mediæval civilization: only from a city like Florence, free, and so prolific of elect minds that this fecundity seemed almost a quality of the soil, could have issued the masterpiece by which the Italian language, which had been lisping verses laboriously shaped by a foreign chisel, was placed, suddenly and in full maturity, among the most cultivated European tongues. But, if Florence deserved such glory, it must not be forgotten that fortune was singularly gracious to her. For Dante was one of those geniuses who appear in the world only after intervals of centuries, and whom nature creates, as if from a passing caprice, to test the limit of her power, shattering the mould immediately afterward.

Dante Alighieri, son of Alighieri and of Donna Bella, of an unknown house, was born in Florence in May, 1265. His family, though ancient and certainly noble, does not appear among the chiefs of the Guelph party, to which it belonged, owing to the fact that it was not

wealthy and had few adherents. His father, by keeping aloof from the adventures of his faction, had managed to live quietly in his native city in the midst of political turmoils. Dante, self-taught, for the most part, learned "by himself the art of uttering words in rhyme:" among Latin classic authors Virgil, whom he had made the object of "long study," especially inspired him with poetic thought and sentiment. His intimacy with Brunetto, Latini also contributed to form his intellect; Brunetto, although he never was his tutor, deserved the tribute of affection and gratitude paid him in Canto XV of the *Inferno* for the counsels he proffered the young poet. The friendship of such men as Guido Cavalcanti, Cino da Pistoia, Giotto, and the musician Casella, must have likewise exercised a benign influence on the character and spirit of Alighieri in the second and third decades of his life. On the other hand, his literary work would seem to have been little, or not at all, affected by his military services to the Commune, for which he fought, in 1289, at Campaldino and at the siege and capture of the castle of Caprona. It is not until 1295 that we begin to learn of the part, not at all exceptional, which he took in public life, after he had been enrolled in the art, or guild, of doctors and apothecaries. In this and the two following years he was an active member of the public Councils, and in May, 1300, he was sent as ambassador to San Gemignano. In the same year, he was one of the Priori from June 15 to August 15, and aroused many hatreds, which bore fruit not long after, by his opposition to the designs of Boniface VIII. He continued his resistance to the Pontiff in several Councils in 1301, in which year he was charged with the duty of supervising the work of straightening the Via di San Procolo. He belonged for six months to the Council of the Hundred, and may, possibly, have also been for a time ambassador at Rome. But the Whites, *(Bianchi)* or mode-

rate Guelph party, were overthrown by the Blacks *(Neri)*, after Boniface VIII had commissioned Charles of Valois to enter Florence with the title of peace-maker *(piacere)*, but, in reality, in order to crush the Bianchi (November 1, 1301), and Dante, who was a partisan of the latter, was, with others, condemned for contumacy, on January 27, 1302, by a decree of the Podestà, Cante de' Gabrielli of Gubbio, to a fine of 5,000 *fiorini piccoli*, banishment from Tuscany for two years, and perpetual exclusion form every office and dignity, as guilty, *according to public report*, of peculation, extortion and plots against the Pope, Charles of Valois, and the Guelph party. As Alighieri neither paid the fine nor put in an appearance, he was by another decree, of March 12, sentenced to perpetual exile and to be burned alive, should he ever fall into the hands of the Commune. So he was forced to abandon country and family, nor is it probable that he ever saw again his wife, Gemma di Manetto Donati, to whom he had been married for several years. They had two sons, Pietro and Jacopo, and two daughters, Antonia and Beatrice; the latter ended her days as a nun in Ravenna. Henceforward the great poet was to be a homeless wanderer through Italy, "a pilgrim," (as he says in the *Convivio*, I, 3), "almost a mendicant, exhibiting, *against his will*, the wound inflicted by fortune, which is often imputed as a fault to him who has suffered the wound."

In the first period of his exile Alighieri kept close to his companions in misfortune, who, aided by the Ghibellines, were making preparations at Forlí and other places to reinstate themselves by force, and, at San Godenzonel Mugello, he was even compelled, like the others, to compensate Ugolino degli Ubaldini for his losses in fighting against Florence (June 8, 1302). But, quickly disgusted with the "wicked and foolish company," he separated from his confederates, and afterward formed "a party consisting of himself," (*Paradiso*, XVII, 62 and 69). His

"first refuge and first hostelry" he found at the court of Bartolommeo della Scala in Verona (1303?); in 1306, he was, perhaps, at Padua, and, certainly, at Lunigiana, where he was commissioned by the Marquesses Franceschino, Moroello and Corradino Malespina to conclude peace with Antonio, Bishop of Luni, and where he received from this house the courteous hospitality which he gratefully praises in Canto VIII of the *Purgatorio*. The road traveled by the glorious exile afterward during the wanderings in which it was his lot to prove:

> "How salt the taste of others' bread, how hard
> The going up and down of others' stairs."
>
> —*Paradiso*, XVII, 53,

is very uncertain. He would seem to have been in Casentino in 1307, and to have subsequently visited Paris (about 1310), where he devoted his time to the theological studies then flourishing in its celebrated university. When, in the month of October of the same year, the German Emperor, Henry VII, descended into Italy to restore the rights of the Holy Roman Empire and establish order in the peninsula, hope again sprang to life in the heart of the exile; for in the representative of legitimate power, of that universal monarchy necessary for the salvation of the human race, Dante saw the redeemer of Italy, ordained of God to repair every injustice, and he trusted to be able to return to his Florence by honorable ways and methods. He visited him, and wrote, with unflinching faith in his own political maxims and burning hate for the "scelleratissimi," opposing, as they did, that which for him was truth and goodness, three Latin epistles: in the first of which he summons the princes and peoples of Italy, exultantly, to bow reverently before the glorious successor of the Cæsars (1310); in the second, he bitterly reproaches the Florentines, who were getting ready to resist him,

prophesying their destruction (March 31, 1311); and in the third, directed to the Emperor himself, he urges him to storm Florence, which was the real lair of the rebels against his authority, and not Cremona or the other Lombard cities he was wasting his time in trying to reduce (April 16, 1311).

These fresh acts of hostility toward the ruling party in Florence caused Alighieri to be placed among those excepted from the so-called Riforma of Baldo d'Aguglione, by which several exiles were recalled from banishment on September 2, 1311. Henry VII at last marched into Central Italy and received the imperial crown in Rome; but though he spent over a month in besieging Florence, he failed, and died suddenly at Buonconvento, while he was making preparations to attack Robert of Anjou, King of Naples, (August 24, 1313). Dante, who had written the last two epistles, already mentioned, "from the sources of the Arno," being probably at the time the guest of Count Guido Novello di Battifolle in Poppi, seems, after the ruin of his great hopes, to have retired into solitude, passing from the convent of Santa Croce di Fonte Avellana to that of Gubbio. Certainly, to this period (1314) belongs an epistle, addressed to the Italian cardinals, assembled in conclave at Carpentras, after the death of Clement V, in which he exhorts them, in fierce language, to elect a pope of their own nation. He is supposed to have dwelt in Lucca, of which Uguccione della Faggiola was the ruler, between 1314 and 1316. After the defeat which the latter inflicted on the Guelphs of Florence and other cities at Montecatini (August 29, 1315), Ranieri d'Orvieto, King Robert's vicar in Florence, renewed, on November 6, the sentence passed on Alighieri, his sons and others: should they fall into the power of the Commune, they were to be beheaded as Ghibellines and rebels. Nor could the poet take advantage of the amnesty which the Florentines, the year

after, feeling reassured, granted to a large number of exiles, on condition that they made an offering of themselves to St. John the Baptist as common malefactors; for all the exiles of 1301 were perpetually excluded from this amnesty, and from every other, by a decree of June 2, 1316: the letter upon which the notion is based that Dante refused to accept permission to return to Florence because of the humiliating conditions attached to it, appears to be apocryphal.

In his last years Alighieri was especially absorbed in the great work in which "both earth and heaven have had a hand," and unfolded the marvelous force of his genius in the masterpiece which will make his name eternal. He still had hopes of returning to his country and receiving "at the font of his baptism" that poet's crown which he refused to accept from Bologna. The *Commedia,* which posterity was to deem and call *divine,* had to triumph over the party hatred with which his fellow-citizens pursued him implacably. However, he retired within himself, and tranquil and artistic Ravenna was, after 1317, his last refuge. Although he was also the guest, about that time, of Cangrande della Scala, Lord of Verona and Chief of the Ghibellines in Lombardy, there is no doubt that he spent the entire last years of his life at the Court of Ravenna, with his noble friend and protector, Guido Novello da Polenta, nephew of the Francesca da Rimini sung of in the *Commedia.* He died after his return from an embassy to Venice, upon which he had been sent by Guido, on September 13 or 14, in the year 1321. His bones, discovered in 1865, when reunited Italy celebrated the sixth centenary of the birth of her greatest poet, repose in the city which received the last sigh of the harassed exile.

In his youth the love, and, throughout all his life, the sweet memory of Beatrice, were inexhaustible points of poetic inspiration for Alighieri. The historical reality

of Beatrice has been doubted by many in the past, one finding in her the symbol of one quality, another of some other. At one time it looked as if the opinion of Adolfo Bartoli would prevail among critics, according to which the "donna angelicata" of Dante and other poets of the *dolce stile novo* "did not correspond to any objective reality, but was an abstract, impalpable type, which became concrete, fugitively, in this or that young girl's face, to separate from it afterward and melt away into more aerial forms." To-day a larger number of critics hold the opposite opinion. We believe that Alighieri and his brethren in art, saturated as they were with mysticism, even dazed a little by visions of the celestial bliss of their dreams and yearnings, were quite naturally led to perceive plainly a nimbus around the brows of the living, breathing woman they were wooing, and shining wings on her shoulders. Hence the ideality which encircles Beatrice, without at all affecting the very real, profound and intimate affection with which she had inspired the poet. In a word, the latter undoubtedly loved a young Florentine girl of that name; and it is very probable that she was the daughter of Folco Portinari, a rich and generous citizen, that she was married to Simone de' Bardi, and that she died in 1290, when only twenty-four years old. This is deduced from Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante* and from a more complete redaction of the commentary of Pietro Alighieri on the poem of his father. The fact of her having had a husband is not important, considering the transparent purity of Dante's affection for her and the conception of love entertained by the poets of the thirteenth century.

The vicissitudes of this love were expounded in 1295, or a little before, in the *Vita nova* (so entitled, according to every probability, in order to denote the "vita giovenile"), which begins at his first meeting with Beatrice in her childhood, and ends when the idea of the *Commedia*

rises in his mind. It is a little book in which the flower of the verses composed by Dante for his lady is harvested, intermingled with explanations in prose, or *ragioni* (as they are termed by the author, the *razos* of Provence), by which the whole is combined into a full and well-ordered narrative. Both prose and verse are adjusted to one single conception, gradually developed, and forming the preparation for that apotheosis, or rather transformation into the loftiest symbol, of the beloved lady, which will be the substantial part of the allegory of the *Commedia*. In fact, Dante, while he has left us passionately sensuous verses addressed to a woman whose name he hides under that of Pietra, never, in the poems devoted to the exaltation of Beatrice, expresses other sentiments than those of stainless purity. For many years he had been content with a passing greeting from his "most gentle one." This being denied him, he had to be satisfied with praising her; and, beginning with the *canzone,* "Ladies, who know full well the lore of love" *(Donne, ch'avete intelletto d'amore)* he "drew out" that "matter nobler than the past," thus initiating something new in connection with his own art as well as with that of others, who, as we have seen, made poems, in his own time and in his own city, founded on principles not dissimilar from his. In this *canzone* is the first thought of the spiritualized Beatrice of the *Commedia;* after it there are no longer in the *Vita nova** longings for a salutation, hopes of requited love, relations of any kind whatsoever between the poet and his lady; but only her unceasing and fervent glorification. She is "an embodied angel," an image of perfection, by which alone "beauty is tested," sent by God among men "to show a miracle." Therefore, the divine intelligences desire her in heaven, where, after her return, she will become a

* *Nova* is the form of the word in old Italian. The later form is *nuova.*

"great spiritual beauty;" such is precisely the manner in which we see her represented in the last part of this little work.

The mystical idealism, which, as we have seen already, encircled the beloved object in the eyes of the poet's Tuscan contemporaries of the thirteenth century, is no longer in Dante, after he has laid his hand on that "new and loftier matter," merely a luminous veil enwrapping the sweet and lithe person that gives rise to sighs and dreams; but is intimately blended with the essence itself of the sacred mystical being, whose very glance diffuses around an ineffable ardor of love. And everything in the *Vita nova* is arranged in harmony with this ideal: inventions, poetic fantasies, language, style. From the first appearance of the celestial child, the "spirits" of Dante, having assumed voice and person, speak the Latin of the Sacred Scriptures. The marvelous synchronism of the number nine—which, as three is its root, symbolizes the miracle of which the Trinity is the source —in all the contingencies of the short life of the lady and of the love of the poet, borders on the mysterious; not without mystery, either, are the "gentle ones" who accompany her, or (like Giovanna, the beloved of Cavalcanti) go before her; and not without mysterious meaning and deep and sacred significance is the vision which appears to the poet of the approaching death of Beatrice (Chap. 23), attended as it is by extraordinary and unusual indications of the agitation it caused, not only in men, but in nature. Everything conspires to foreshadow in the lady, already beginning to put off mortality in the *Vita nova*, the exalted symbol she is to represent in the *Commedia;* the juvenile production of Dante is virtually, at bottom, simply the praise *(la loda)* of the internal, incorruptible beauty of Beatrice, made through the medium of a narrative, which is irradiated with the tenderest light of poetry, of the various ways in which

the poet was virtuously affected; first by the courtesy she showed him, then by the mere sight of her, and lastly by the blessed memory of her. It is probable that the vision recorded at the close of the *Vita nova* is the very "vision" (all the rest of the poem is a *viaggio fantastico*) which, thanks to the contemplative St. Bernard, Dante has in the *Commedia* of the "celestial court," and afterward also of the very high place which his lady occupies in it, beside "Rachel of old."

In the *Vita nova,* then, we have, as it were, the prelude or preamble to the *Commedia.* Put together and composed while the idea of the great poem was taking shape, perhaps already planned, in the mind of Alighieri, the *Vita nova* is subordinated to one single conception, and, consequently, out of the Dantesque measures "spread among the people," it has selected only those which can be wedded or in some manner adapted to the gradual development of this conception. There are signs of adaptations in the amorous "libello." While writing it, Dante made use of more than one poem previously composed by him, giving such a poem a somewhat different significance, or tasking his ingenuity to prove by perplexing subtleties that it was full of occult meanings, of secret allusions. In the choice of the measures he has not conformed to æsthetic standards, at least in the first part; he has adopted those which seemed in harmony with the *materia nova,* arranged with due admixture of reality and vision, truth and poetry, in the portion that precedes the afore-mentioned *canzone* to the *donne gentili,* and amply developed and expounded in the remainder; this matter is the praise, altogether remote from everything earthly, of the spiritual beauty of Beatrice. Thus, in the cleansing fires of a love in which there was nothing carnal was dissolved or purified whatever was material or gross in the poetry of Alighieri's

youthful days, which had not always been inspired by the "glorious mistress of *his* mind."

From all this it is clear that Dante in the lyric not only stands apart from his fellows of the *dolce stile,* but towers above them. And not all his lyric is in the *Vita nova,* either; he has left us many other poems of another inspiration, in a different key: erotic, doctrinal, allegorical, even satirical and grotesque, as, for instance, the *tenzone* (poetical contest) in sonnets with Forese Donati; nor are gems lacking in his *Canzoniere* which will shine with greater effulgence when some worthless apocryphal rhymes shall have been weeded from among them. Nevertheless the flower of Dante's art and the quintessence of his lyrical thought are contained in the little work of his youth, especially in its *nove rime,* which tell, with such sweetness of accent and elevation of soul, the praises of Beatrice. The sincerity and simplicity of the artistic methods employed in them are marvelous; marvelous, too, is the prose which connects and elucidates the verses, commenting on them in all their minutest details; a prose in which the words, homogeneous with the thoughts, gush forth—as it has been well remarked—"spontaneous, rapid, copious, beautiful with their own peculiar beauty, unfettered by models, either in substance or in form."

The *Vita nova* may be called the vestibule of that august and solemn temple, the *Commedia.* Beatrice was in life an active and efficacious worker for the salvation of Dante. Her "youthful eyes" had been the openings through which the healing influence of the internal beauty of the "most gentle one" had reached the timid lover: there is another link between the little work of Alighieri's juvenile years and the masterpiece of his full maturity in Chapter XI of the *Vita nova* which he introduced into it solely to show what a virtuous change the greeting of his lady wrought in him; that winsome move-

ment of her lips which was for Dante the goal of love (as the eyes were its starting-point), because it had the virtue, merely by the greeting, of regenerating the soul in which love had been awakened, or into which it had been infused, by the glance of the miraculous child. In fact, Beatrice, as the instrument of salvation, Beatrice, the handmaid of divine compassion is, as it were, the very pivot upon which the Dantesque poem revolves. Raised from flesh to spirit, she continues the beneficent work of the time when, while she was yet alive and with him, he was wont to turn his face toward the straight ways, and the glorification of her is the thought in which is centered the plan of the pilgrimage through the three ultra-mundane realms. Even if we do not admit that Dante was thinking, from 1287, when he wrote the *canzone* addressed to the gentle ladies, of relating a journey of his among the *lost people* in which he would speak even in hell of Beatrice, "the hope of the blessed," it must be admitted that, a few years after her death, he says, in the "wonderful vision" at the close of the *Vita nova,* he saw things that made him resolve not to speak again of her, until the time should come when he could treat of her more worthily. This "treatment," in which he hoped "to say of her that which had never been said of any woman," can only be the *Commedia.* That vision contained the primary idea.

But the divine poem is not entirely a vision; it is an allegorical fantasy in the form of a journey; it brings together the full cycle of legends concerning the destiny of man after death, which were inspired by the religious ardor that peopled the hermitages of the Thebaïd and the monasteries of the West. In the beginning these legends were designed only to soften hard and ferocious natures through the terrors of future torments, and were characterized by childish ingenuousness and simple plot; but little by little, though the ingenuousness remained, the

plot grew richer and more complex, resulting in such stories as "The Vision of St. Paul," the legends that came from the cloisters of distant Ireland of "The Voyage of St. Brendan," "The Vision of Tundalo" and the "Purgatory" of Saint Patrick, down to the "Vision" of Fra Alberico, a Benedictine monk of Monte Cassino, who lived at the beginning of the twelfth century. These all contained imaginings similar to those of Dante's poem, —as, for example, the Lucifer of the legend of Tundalo, who gnawed and devoured souls, and the devils of Alberico's vision that tried to seize the author with hooks when he was for a moment left alone by his guide.

But into the treatment of this theme,—that is, the future destinies of good and of evil souls,—which the people had long loved to see pictured before them on the walls of churches and cemeteries, represented in spectacular performances and described in the songs of street minstrels on piazzas and market-places,—Dante brought order, symmetry, unity of conception and poetic skill; whereas it had been before only a straggling collection of extravagant and puerile incidents. He carried into the realms of the infinite and the divine the consideration of the things of this world, aiming, as the supreme purpose of this "sacred poem," to save the human race from the state of suffering and lead it to that of felicity. So those rude monastic Odysseys were transformed into a journey through the kingdoms of punishment, of purgation and of reward, builded with the rigor of science; and the allegorical significance, running from beginning to end along with the literal, not only gave artistic relief to the abstractions necessarily frequent in a poem of such nature, but allowed Dante to introduce among the Christian imaginings the mythical personages and the topographical detail of the Avernus described by the ancients and particularly by Virgil.

The *Commedia,* so called by reason of the matter not

always lofty and of the idiom, chosen in consequence, not always strict and scholarly, is in its structure well proportioned, symmetrical and, as it were, mathematical. There are three parts,—the *Inferno,* the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso,* each ending with the word "stars," each having thirty-three cantos,—except that the first has one more as an introduction,—thus one hundred cantos, in which the number three and its multiple nine are dominant; and the measure proceeds by strophes of three lines linked one to another by the rhyme,—that is the *terza rima,* where the second line of each triplet rhymes with the first and third of the next. As to the material and moral order of the three kingdoms that Dante visited in imagination, this is in brief the way he pictured them:

They are arranged according to the theory explained and described by the poet in two corresponding cantos, the eleventh of the *Inferno* and the seventeenth of the *Purgatorio.* In the one kingdom the damned, in the other the souls undergoing purgation, occupy the terraced circles of two great cones; one of these, the infernal abyss, descends in the form of a funnel below our hemisphere, touching with its point the center of the earth; the other, diametrically opposite, the mountain of Purgatory, rises toward the sky from the waters that cover the southern hemisphere. This second cone is truncated; and the lofty plane that occupies its summit, the Terrestrial Paradise, is covered with a beautiful forest. In the midst of it rises the tree of knowledge of good and evil, tasting whose fruit man sinned,—this tree standing at the antipodes of Calvary, where Christ expiated upon the cross the sin of man. Round about the earth, center of the universe, through the "round ether" *(Paradiso* XXII, 132) revolve the nine concentric heavens of the Ptolemaic system, and surrounding all is the unmoving Empyrean. In this the souls of the just, arranged in

the form of a rose, have their dwelling, appearing to Dante in the various celestial spheres; there they enjoy the beatific vision of the Deity surrounded by the nine orders of the three angelic hierarchies.

The *Inferno,* as we have said, is an inverted cone. But above the entrance to the "vale of the dolorous abyss," there is a level tract,—the "obscure campagna"—which may be called the Ante-Inferno. On the one side of it is the portal of the subterranean immensity, which is in our hemisphere toward the west, at the bottom of a horrid dark and wooded valley. On the other side the Ante-Inferno is bounded by the Acheron, a great river which must be crossed by all those "who die under the wrath of God." Here are punished the pusillanimous and especially those who, most highly favored by Heaven, were the more guilty for failing to profit by its gifts, that is, the angels who at the great crisis did neither join their Creator nor oppose Him, and he "who through cowardice made the great refusal" (Celestine V).

The first circle of the nine into which the vale of the abyss is divided, is not filled with any that are tormented; it contains the limbo, and in a "noble castle" the wise, the good and the illustrious who died without baptism. The damned, according as they have sinned through excess of passion or through malice, are punished in the circles following either without or within the city of Dis. The sins increase in gravity gradually as we descend; thus the passionate, who have been guilty only of excesses, occupy the circles II to V. First among them are those who have indulged the carnal appetites, —that is, the sins of wantonness, gluttony, avarice and prodigality; then come those who have sinned by anger, by excess of indignation,—which is a virtue,—by fury or by rancor,—wrath swift or slow, or, as Aristotle has it, wrath acute and wrath bitter; they are immersed more

or less deeply in the mud of the Stygian marsh which encloses the "red city."

The sinners through malice, that is, the truly wicked, are distributed in three circles, VII, VIII and IX; the first of these, subdivided in turn into three circles, contains the malicious with violence; the second, divided into ten fosses *(Malebolge),* holds the malicious with fraud, who were not trusted; the third, divided into four, the malicious with fraud who were trusted,—that is, the traitors.

In the sixth circle, along the inner side of the wall of Dis, are the heretics,—not to be confounded with the authors of schisms, who injured others, and hence are far down in *Malebolge.* These heretics are punished for want of faith,—"not for doing, but for not doing," as are the infidels of the limbo and of the castle of the sages who occupy the first circle of the vale of the abyss. But the heretics, much more culpable than the two other classes in that they "would not have faith" are properly gathered in the first circle of the city of "the perverse" that is, those who sinned from reason, not passion.

In Dis human wickedness joined to diabolic is divided according to the Aristotelian conception of bestiality and of malice. The "mad bestiality" (*Inferno,* XI, 82-3) is the wickedness or evil of one who madly injures another with violence, which is characteristic of beasts (symbolized by the lion in the first canto); malice, strictly defined, is the wickedness of one who understandingly injures another by fraud, which is the wickedness characteristic of man (symbol, the leopard in the first canto). These and incontinence, which is a form of wickedness from passion (symbol, the wolf in the first canto), are "the three dispositions that Heaven will not have," according to which Dante, following the "Nikomachean Ethics," has divided into three classes the sinners of his *Inferno,* that is to say, they are the three forms of the

evil disposition, or wickedness, or infirmity of the soul. But naturally, with this Aristotelian classification of human vices, Alighieri, always orthodox, does not contradict in the least the theological classification; for as the other five mortal sins are punished in the circles of the incontinent, so pride and envy are to be punished in the city of the malicious. The Fathers of the Church and the moralists have with one voice called pride the mother and root of every sin; envy is her first-born daughter, almost inseparable from her; and from the one and the other, usually joined together, comes the guilt of "every wickedness that earns hate in Heaven," bestial or fraudulent. Therefore we find near the foundation of the sad infernal edifice the proud giants of pagan mythology; and Lucifer, who with accursed pride was the "source of the fall" of a part of the angelic cohort, is "bound down by all the weight of the world" among the rocks on which rests the *Inferno,* in the center of the earth, which is the center of the universe. De Sanctis well observed that the deepest part of the blind gulf descending from the man-beast like Vanni Fucci has its climax in the "man of ice, the petrified man,—to a world where movement gradually ceases until life disappears entirely." As many men and angels as have sharpened the intellect moved by insane pride to accomplish monstrous wickedness in defiance of their Creator, so many are now fettered and frozen or reduced to carrion void of intelligence, like "the emperor of the dolorous realm," who, mechanical instrument of divine justice, gnaws with his three mouths Judas, Brutus and Cassius.

The partition of the *Purgatorio* corresponds to that of the *Inferno.* The "obscure campagna," which we saw before the entrance of the vale of the abyss, has its counterpart here in the level tract which encloses the Mount of Purgatory, where are the souls of the negligent, that is, those who, neglecting to repent, died in

contumacy of the Holy Church. And again the mount of purgation, like the infernal gulf, is divided at the same time into three and into nine parts: the mount "where they look forward" has seven terraces receiving the sinners of the seven capital vices, and the terrestrial paradise. But here the sins diminish in gravity as the summit is approached; hence the seven vices proceed up the mountain in an inverse order from that of the *Inferno*, —pride, envy, anger, sloth, avarice, gluttony, wantonness. The terrestrial paradise, at the summit, is transitional to the celestial paradise. This, also divided into three, according to the number of persons of the Trinity, has the nine parts as well: the heavens of the Moon, of Mercury, of Venus, of the Sun, of Mars, of Jupiter, of Saturn, wherein have place respectively the spirits inactive and spirits operative, loving, knowing, militant, judging, and contemplating,—and further the stellar heaven and the crystalline heaven or *primum mobile*. Above all, as we have seen, is the Empyrean, the limit of the imagined journey of Dante.

The poet visits in flesh and blood the abodes of the dead. In the early morning of Good Friday, April 8, 1300, the year of the famous jubilee (1301, according to some authorities), he succeeds in escaping from a dark wood, not knowing how he entered there, so "full of sleep" was he when he left the right path. The wood is in a valley, leaving which Dante finds himself upon a desert slope forming the border of a hill lighted above by the rising sun. He wishes to climb it; but three wild beasts, a lion, a leopard, and a she-wolf bar his way; and the third of them, advancing slowly toward him, forces him back into the low dark place. Then, behold, there appears a shade, who, when invoked by Dante with tears, advises him to take another way and offers himself as guide. It is Virgil come to his rescue by the command of Beatrice, who, moved by a "gentle lady" in

heaven and by Lucia, has descended from her seat among the blessed into the limbo of virtuous pagans to find the singer of Æneas and send him to Dante. Virgil turns the poet from in front of the wild beast which has prevented him from taking the short road to the beautiful mountain, into another way, a path deep and wooded leading to the bottom of the low place, that is, the wooded place, where is the entrance to the *Inferno.* Thence he takes him down through the nine circles of the abyss of Hell till they reach the lowest depth, where Lucifer is. The second part of the journey is up the Mount of Purgatory culminating in the Terrestrial Paradise.

During this journey Virgil reassures Dante and protects him from time to time against the monsters on guard at one and another part of the Inferno: Charon, the demon, boatman for the souls spurred on by divine justice to cross the Acheron; Minos, their judge, placed at the beginning of the second circle, where the true Inferno begins; Cerberus and Pluto, stationed at the circles, respectively, of the gluttons and of the avaricious and prodigal; Phlegyas, the ferryman of the little boat that carries malignant souls to the farther side of the Stygian marsh; the Erynnis, who suddenly threaten the poet from a tower rising amid the fiery red walls of Dis; the Minotaur, custodian of the circle of the violent; and the Centaurs, who run along the border of the boiling vermilion current of Phlegethon, piercing with arrows "whatever soul emerges from the river of blood farther than its degree of guilt allows." Dante and Virgil cross together the most perilous passes; upon the haunches of Geryon they descend into *Malebolge;* in the pit of the Giants that "yawns in the very middle of the malign field," they are taken up by Antæus, clasped in each other's embrace, and set down to the "icy crust" of Cocytus, the frozen lake of traitors.

In the second kingdom, which the two poets reach by

a hidden path after descending it by grasping the shaggy sides of Lucifer "from shag to shag," and then afterward ascending from the center of the earth in the opposite direction,—Virgil continues in his office. But here he himself has need of counsel and part of the way of a guide. Cato, the noble custodian of the Mount of Purgatory, enlightens him at the first; Sordello acts as guide to him and Dante when they visit the souls of princes gathered in a little recess in the side of the mountain; Matilda is the guide in the terrestrial paradise. And then upon the summit of the sacred mountain Virgil departs; Beatrice assumes the place, appearing suddenly "in a cloud of flowers" and amid a host of angels, on a triumphal car drawn by a griffin, and preceded, surrounded and followed by attendant symbols of the Holy Scriptures. Cleansed from sin in Lethe, and regenerated in the Eunoè, Dante, fixing his eyes upon his lady, is carried at once among the blessed people and ascends from the Triumph of Christ and of the Virgin to the vision of the Trinity.

Under this fiction, constituting the literal significance of the poem, is to be sought the hidden truth, which is its allegorical significance. After the death of Beatrice Dante had turned his steps "into ways not true, following false images of good"; thus he found himself, not knowing how, in vicious life. Arrived at thirty-five years he left it, seeking to mount again by the practice of virtue toward the Supreme Good. But the threefold disposition to evil contracted during his deviations, especially that of incontinence, had sent him back into that life; and he would have been damned, if by divine grace and by the mediation of Beatrice, that is, of revealed truth, which already, enclosed in "beautiful form" had guided him in the right way, the voice of reason full and direct had not come to his rescue.

Reason (Virgil) procures for Dante the only means he

has for saving himself; which is by meditation on the various sins arising from the triple dispositions to which he is subject, and upon the penalties that will be visited upon them in eternity. In such meditation (the journey among the lost) it, reason, is his guide and aids him to triumph over the obstacles opposed to him by the passions (the rivers of Hell) and by perverse habits (the infernal monsters). Redeeming himself thus from the service of sin, Dante, following the counsels of the free and righteous judgment (Cato), purifies himself and rises to the perfection of the active life (the terrestrial paradise) wherein earthly felicity consists. The "habit of good choice" (Matilda) then guides him, released from evil impulses, to the practice of the cardinal and theological virtues: revealed truth (Beatrice) takes the place of reason as his guide; and he, regenerate, is elevated by it through the various steps of the contemplative life (the heavens) up to the perfection of that life (the Empyrean), in which, owing to the habit of contemplation (St. Bernard), he foretastes celestial beatitude on gaining the ecstatic vision of the Supreme Good.

This is the truth hidden beneath the veil. Another and profounder truth is added by the anagogic or mystical signification. The redemption from sin that Dante gains in reward of his will for good, by the divine mercy, corresponds to the redemption of the human race which was granted by that mercy when, in the fulness of time, the "good Augustus" ruled the world in peace. Then the human soul received the gift of power to free itself from slavery to sin by means of the just and righteous reason (Virgil) and to be admitted, by means of justification, that is the return to the state of righteousness (the ascent of the mountain), to the enjoyment in the perfect life of the benefits of revealed truth (Beatrice), which borne by the Church (the triumphal car) is the guide to the celestial beatitude.

From this duplex truth springs the teaching, or moral. Why, notwithstanding the sublime sacrifice of the Son of God, do men go to perdition in such numbers? Why does the wolf "not allow any to pass by her way, but so prevents them as to destroy them,"—that is, why does passion forbid men to pass by the right way and lead them to perdition? Why does not reason guide, as it should, to earthly felicity through virtuous deeds and revealed truth to the heavenly blessedness of the thought of God?

The answer is given in a special allegorical figure which Beatrice,—that is, this same revealed truth,—solemnly enjoins the poet to describe for the admonishing of mortals (*Purgatorio,* XXXII). Upon the triumphal car, grown monstrous, sit a giant and a harlot, that is to say that the corrupted Church is confused by two powers in itself. And the giant, that is, the temporal power, drags away the chariot, loosing it from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil to which the griffin (Christ) has fastened it. The Church, therefore, can no longer give to men the teachings of revealed truth. The Empire can no longer direct the reason with its authority, which has been usurped; hence man is a slave to weakness and excess, and cannot succeed in bridling his perverse appetites. This evil condition of the soul is represented by the wolf; this is the deepest moral and political teaching of the Divine Comedy.

But the immortal part of the glorious poem is not ultramundane, philosophical and theological; it is human, artistic, and palpitating with emotion. From the disillusionments and the severe experiences of exile, from the wanderings in which this our wonderful peninsula was seen in its most varied aspects of beauty, and familiar with poetic tradition in its exuberant fulness, Dante drew into his imaginary world the real and the dramatic in life. The empire and the papacy, the com-

mune and the nobility, courtiers and ecclesiastics,—we find them all associated in a vivid historic picture of the Italian Middle Ages. In a thousand modes and a thousand forms his satire lashes his contemporaries, especially the Florentines. Sometimes the poet's indignation breaks out boldly and vigorously over the discords of Italy, who, one time mistress of provinces, now servant of crowned adventurers, forgets her place as the storied and rightful seat of empire.

The episodes of Ciacco, the Florentine who describes the corruptions of the "divided city" and predicts its disaster; of Filippo Argenti, rent by the muddy people of the Styx, as it were for the vengeance of the author; of Farinata degli Uberti, magnanimous and intrepid even in his burning tomb; of Ser Brunetto, who heaps plebeian insults on his native Florence; and those of Sordello, Forese Donati, Cacciaguida, and others, are wonders of picture no less than of poesy, "in which" (I say with Isidore Del Lungo) "the old Commune and its memories, the Florentine family and the Italian city, the glories, the sins, the disasters of the nation live again under our eyes."

Note also the great originality of Alighieri. He has expressed the spirit of the age in a work wonderful for harmony of line and vigor of movement; he has introduced the protagonist, himself, with his own passions, angry moods, and desires; he has drawn from the most varied sources,—the Bible, the Fathers of the Church, the philosophers and theologians, the Latin classics and others,—everywhere impressing the seal of his genius. Stories like those of the death of Count Ugolino *(Inferno,* XXXIII) and the love and death of Francesca da Rimini *(Inferno,* V), are not read without a thrill of deep emotion. In the *bolgia* of robbers the heap of men and of serpents and of the bodies which turn to ashes and from ashes turn again to bodies, is described with trans-

cendent vividness. One would say that the poet had really been a spectator at that supernatural marvel! The imagination of the poet has never given to the mind of the artist such clearness of outlines and such colors of reality: in Dante the word paints or carves; the image, giving life to the word, redoubles its power. Not a useless epithet, not a superfluous accessory; the restraint of art holds the whole wisely and deliberately within limits most strict and rigorous.

Together with the sense of proportion there are in the work a marvelous lucidity of expression even of the most abstruse conceptions, the ideas least easy to convey; language flexibly accommodating itself to the idea and, most mobile, varying from episode to episode, catching the moving image of the subtly observed reality in flight, as it were, and fixing it; and lastly, a singular mastery of the rhymes, now harsh and rough, now soft and smooth, and of the rhythm, now excited and vibrant, now melodiously caressing; making Dante not solely the greatest of our own poets, but one of the very first of all times and of all nations. All the classic culture of the Italian laity, which we have seen perpetuating itself in the Middle Ages, reached its perfection in him; all the Middle Age lives again in his poem, where the great artist passes repeatedly without effort from the grotesque to the sublime, from the observation of nature to the contemplation of the mysteries of Divinity.

As we have said, Virgil represents in the *Commedia* the reason made perfect in the fulness of time. Therefore the instructions he gives to Dante in guiding him from the evil life—the dark forest—to the sweetness of the virtuous life—the divine forest—are the philosophic teachings by whose means reason leads to temporal happiness, as we read in the *De Monarchia* (III, 15); and the first two parts of the poem hide under the poetic fiction a real treatise on morality derived mainly from the

Ethics of Aristotle and the comments upon it of St. Thomas.

The *Convivio* is a fruit of the studies Dante made in preparation for his great work, though it was written later. It was so entitled because the author spread in it a banquet of wisdom for those who "are for various reasons deficient therein;" it consists of allegorico-philosophic or doctrinal *canzoni,* which are the meats, and of a commentary in vernacular prose in the form of treatises, or tracts which constitute the bread. The *canzoni* were to number fourteen and the tracts fifteen, the first serving as an introduction; but only three of the songs and four of the tracts were written. Yet, even so, the work has much importance, whether from the opinions expressed in it which form the basis of many passages and images in the *Commedia,* or from the fact that Dante in using the popular language, for the first time in Italy, in an original prose work of scientific argument, introduced meanings and distinctions unknown to the translators or imitators who had preceded him, and adapted the language without degrading it to the laws and forms of the ancient idiom. On the one side, then, the *Convivio* is related to the *Commedia,* on the other to the *Vita Nova.* It is like the *Vita Nova* in the mingled form of verse and prose, in the large part that is given to comments, and in the similarity of language, which with Dante is always the Florentine vernacular; and, further, the two have in common the character of a woman noble and pious, with this difference,—that in the *Vita Nova* she is a living breathing creature, but in the *Convivio* the personification of philosophy.

Of the vernacular, or rather vernaculars, of Italy, Dante speaks again in a Latin treatise which was intended to comprise more books than the two we have, and which doubtless belongs to the time of the poet's exile,—the *De vulgari eloquentia.* It is our earliest *Ars poetica;*

in the first book the author discourses of language in general, and in particular of the Italian dialects; in the second book he explains with great exactness the metrical laws of the *canzone*. In his review of the dialects of Italy, quite dispassionate and free from errors and caprices, Alighieri includes all, not excepting his own, in the same censure; but the opponents of the primacy of the Florentines in language, when the famous question regarding it arose in the sixteenth century, continuing even to our day, were wrong in claiming the authority of Dante. For he has reference solely to the exigencies of the tragic style, as it was then called, that is, of the style adapted to lofty poetry, for which the *canzone* is the appropriate measure; and for this it seemed to him that none of the dialects could serve without such changes and enrichments as to give rise to a special form of language, *illustre, aulica, curiale,*—the one that he and his brother artists employed in the *canzone* on didactic and amorous themes.

Dante had already expressed in the *Convivio* his imperialistic theory. He unfolds it with copious scholastic distinctions and syllogisms, in the three books of *De Monarchia,* written probably at a later period. In this Latin treatise, he maintains the necessity of a universal monarchy, argues that for this the Roman people was destined by God, and upholds, contrary to the theory of the Guelphs, the reciprocal independence of the papacy and the empire, both deriving their authority directly from God. It is therefore an appropriate gloss to the political theory underlying the *Commedia* and reveals a phase of Dante's mind not to be overlooked. This is further manifested in the Dantean Epistles written in Latin, serious and full of Biblical images with the emphatic tone which is found in the political writings of Pier della Vigna, and which is recommended to epistolographers in the *Artes dictanti.* In it and (not to speak

of a *Questio de aqua et terra* of doubtful authenticity) in two eclogues to Giovanni del Virgilio, master of grammar at Bologna, the author of the *Commedia* shows himself a Latin writer far inferior, as were other writers of Latin in his day, to that which he was in the mother tongue.

Thus, this idiom, not in use more than sixty years as a literary medium, and then but seldom and uncertainly, passed at a bound from infancy to maturity. In Tuscany, where the best writings that followed were in the noble Florentine tongue, it served, not many decades later, for the exquisite subtleties of the art of Petrarch in lyric poetry, and in prose for the multiform creations of Boccaccio.

Francesco Petrarch was born July 20, 1304, at Arezzo, where his father, Petracco, a notary of Florence, had taken refuge with his wife, Eletta Canigiani, in 1302, having been, like Dante, exiled from Florence. His proper name was Francesco di Petracco, but by caprice he Latinized it into Petrarca. After he had pursued his first studies at Pisa, he went with his father's family to Avignon, and from there was sent to Carpentras (1315-19), where his tutor was Convenevole da Prato, a grammarian and rhetorician of some renown; thence to Montepellier (1319-23) to pursue the study of law. But for this he had no vocation; the reading of the classics attracted and absorbed him. The poet himself relates (*Senil.*, XVI, 1), how his father in an excess of anger threw into the fire many volumes of ancient authors, and how great were his despair and sorrow.

From Bologna, where he had gone to finish his legal studies, he returned to Avignon in 1325, on account of the death of his father, whom his mother did not long survive. He was then free to give himself wholly to his chosen studies and also to the gay and pleasant life of the Papal court at Avignon. He took minor orders;

but this did not restrain him from either Platonic or sensual love-affairs. He conceived a Platonic affection for Laura, probably the daughter of Audibert de Noves and the wife of Hugues de Sade, whom he saw for the first time in the church of Santa Clara of Avignon, April 6, 1327. The restlessness consequent upon this affection and a natural desire for novelty, led him to spend several years in travel through Europe. In 1330 he was at Lombes with his intimate friend Giacomo Colonna, who was bishop there; then in northern France, in Flanders and in Germany,—all absorbed in the observation of nature and in searching for the scattered literary remains of antiquity. Thanks to the protection of the Colonnas and his almost fraternal intimacy with Cardinal Giacmo Colonna, he was enabled to visit Rome, to his great gratification, for his imagination was filled with thoughts of its grandeur.

In the same year, 1337, he sought rest and quiet in the Alpine solitude of Vaucluse, near the source of the Sorga, not far from Avignon,—a place that became most dear to him, was described in his letters and celebrated in his verse. There he retired when he wished to devote himself to congenial studies,—to "that valley enclosed on every side" and beside "that swift and clear stream," more delightful to him than all other rivers, because, descending to the plain it flowed along by the home of his Laura.

His fame had now become so great that he received the honor of the poet laureate's crown. The offer came to him simultaneously September 1, 1340, from the University of Paris and from the Senate of Rome. He chose to accept the one from Rome, and after he had been interrogated by King Robert of Naples upon various questions, was solemnly crowned upon the Campidoglio on Easter Day, 1341. He betook himself then to Parma with Azzo da Correggio, the new lord of that city; near

it, in Selvapiana, was renewed the inspiration he had already felt at Vaucluse, and he finished *L'Africa*, the poem from which he promised himself increased fame. Then he returned to Avignon, but did not remain long; in 1343 he was in Naples, sent by Clement VI to Queen Joanna, who had that year succeeded King Robert, to attend there to the rights of the Holy See. The next ten years he passed alternately in Upper Italy and in France.

In 1347, when Cola di Rienzo made his famous attempt to restore the ancient Roman Republic, he imagined that the magnificent dream might be permanently realized and left Avignon intending to go to Rome; but having learned on the way that the edifice improvised by the brave tribune was falling to ruin, he went instead to Parma, where he learned to his sorrow that Laura had died at Avignon April 16, 1348. In 1353 he left that city of Provence forever and established himself in Italy. At Milan, honored by important embassies from the archbishop Giovanni Visconti and from his nephews and successors (1353-60); at Padua, received with festivities by the Carraresi (1361-2); at Venice presented by the Republic with a house upon the Riviera degli Schiavoni (1362-7); he lived amid the activities and the pleasures of glory, indulging from time to time by travel his desire for seeing new places and visiting old friends. After 1370 he lived at Arqua upon the Euganean Hills, in a little villa of his own, where he enjoyed the rural life with reading, thought and prayer and the ministrations of his natural daughter Francesca and his son-in-law, who was worthy of her. Here he passed away tranquilly the night of July 18-19, 1374, in his study, where he was found with his head resting upon a book.

Few writers have been as fortunate in life as Petrarch. His house in Arezzo was cared for as a monument; in

1351 the Florentines sent Giovanni Boccaccio to Padua to announce to him the restitution of the property that had been confiscated from his father and to offer him a chair in the Studio, which he refused; he also refused several times the offer of an apostolic secretaryship; canonries and prebends offered him splendid incomes; the Emperor Charles IV created him a Count palatine. Yet he was not, as might be thought, happy; because of all the anxieties, the anguished struggles, and the contradictions of an unquiet soul occasioned especially by the dissidence,—most natural in a man belonging to an age of transition from the mediæval to the Renaissance —between the pagan love of glory and the ascetic contempt for the vanities of the world. These contrasts, if they were "contrary winds in the serene life," were the animating and enlivening breath of his art. They are mirrored even in the *Canzoniere,* his unique work in the vernacular and his highest glory.

The *Canzoniere (Rerum vulgarium fragmenta)* is a collection of sonnets, songs, *ballate,* madrigals and sestine which the author, although he regarded, or affected to regard, such compositions as *nugæ* or *nugellea,*—trifles —has placed together and divided into two parts and arranged according to æsthetic or rather psychologic distinctions, grouping together the verses that refer to one event and those reflecting the same mental state. It contains amatory verse and poems on various other subjects. The former are much more numerous; voicing the phases of the poet's love for Laura; the sorrow of seeing it unreturned, the enthusiastic admiration for her perfections; the constant fluctuations of the soul attacked by opposing sentiments. We have already seen in the poets of the *dolce stile* inspiration placed instead of the formulas of the schools as the canons of art; and to them Petrarch owes much and by many characteristics can be classified with them. But he is the first in

Italy who, leaving aside the abstractions of a mystic ideality, interrogated his heart, analyzed his passions with the calmness of the psychologist, and represented them in infinite forms and in most varied gradations. And the representation is no less humanly true than artistically perfect; for Laura, although enthroned in the mind of the poet, never ceases to be a woman. While with Dante and the lyric poets of the thirteenth century who wrote in his manner, the creature beloved and sung appears detached from real life, like certain Giottesque figures of saints, painted upon a ground of golden light as if to intimate that even in life the effulgence of divinity enfolds them, there is not a poem of Petrarch's that gives an intimation of any other background to the sweet face and the blond locks of the most beautiful of the gentle ladies of Provence than the azure of the sky and the green of the meadow or the forest. Hence the pastoral idyllic spirit that beautifies and animates so much of the *Canzoniere,* in which the scenes are laid for the most part near the "sweet hills," between the Durance and the Sorga, where Laura was born and lived, and along the "clear, cool and sweet waters" of the Sorga. These rivers inspired one of his most charming *canzoni.* Even after death Laura appears to the poet, now as a nymph risen from the clear depths of the Sorga, now as a lady wandering for solace amid the grass and the flowers.

Naturally, since Laura was unapproachable by the poet, the elegiac note dominates all others in his poems.

"Ahi! from sorrow Italian song has its birth and its beginning"

exclaims Leopardi. But his harp is not therefore of one string; rather he has enclosed in his wonderful verse the story of a soul in its conflicts, in its weaknesses, in its inconsistencies,—an entirety of emotions new and highly poetic, which found at once and will find

in every age an echo in the human heart. And the mastery of style and verse in which he clothes those thoughts is marvelous; marvelous are the ease of the form, the fulness and elegance of the language, the harmony of the strophes. Mingling in his verse the flowers of Tuscan word and phrase he has unconsciously carried out as no other better the Dantean theory of the *De Vulgare Eloquentia;* his is truly the language *illustre* or *aulico* of the supremest form of poetry, serving not only for themes of love, but also for civil and patriotic subjects. The *canzone* in which Petrarch exhorts the nobility of Italy to "cast away hate and anger" and not to trust to the unfaithful mercenary soldiery—

"O my Italy, although my speaking may be in vain"—

is among the most eloquent, bravest and most magnanimous of our lyrics. Wonderful, too, is that other—

"Noble spirit that rulest those members"—

addressed to one who was to be a new saviour of the Roman people, believed by many to be Cola di Rienzo, but by some applied to Stefano Colonna the younger, to Bosone da Gubbio and to others. In this the poet, inspired by the memories of Rome's ancient grandeur, pleads for the salvation of Rome and of Italy.

It was observed by De Sanctis that Laura, in the poems lamenting her death, seems more living than in the others written while she was in the world. In truth, with her death begins that imagined exchange of loving sentiment which was not possible with the living, whence a new and fresh source of inspiration for the poet. In the later years, from 1357, there is a tendency to glorify the dead, after the manner of Dante in exaltation of Beatrice. In the measure of the *Commedia* and with analogous allegorical fantasy of content, he wrote *I trionfi* ("The Triumphs") in which he imagines successively

the triumphs of six symbolic figures: Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, Time, and Divinity. They are somewhat cold; the morality and the enumeration of historic personages in which they abound are suited better to a treatise or to a chronicle than to a poem; but the part that refers to Laura is less arid than the rest, and the description of her death is most beautiful.

Petrarch's lyrics are not only varied in mood and psychologic content, but in the elements of style and technique they seem to be inspired from many sources. Having lived long in Provence, he owed something to the art of the troubadours, especially to Arnold Daniello; certain not praiseworthy artificialities which his imitators exaggerate seem to proceed from that source. Cino de Pistoia, of the school of the *dolce stile,* shows such refinements of imagery and phrase that he may have had influence upon Petrarch, who thought highly of him. Finally, the better part of the style of the *Canzoniere* is derived from classic culture, much more varied and profound in the singer of Laura than in Alighieri.

It has already been seen with what fervid love Petrarch had from his first youth given attention to the study of antiquity, especially Roman. By these studies he accomplished notable results, seeking out and publishing the works of Latin authors, of which he gathered during his travels a considerable library. Nor did he content himself with transcribing them or having them copied; but he placed glosses upon the margins, collated different manuscripts, and studied corrections of the text. Virgil, Cicero and Seneca exerted a greater influence upon him than any others; among the Greeks he desired to know especially Plato and Homer; of the first he obtained some knowledge from the Calabrian monk Barlaam at Avignon in 1342, of the second he could read in 1367 a translation made at his charge by another Italian not ignorant of the Greek, Leonzio Pilato. Petrarch's

cult of antiquity, extending to every sort of remnant or relic of it, had something in it of fanaticism. Not only did he baptize more than one of his friends with the names of personages of Hellas or of Latium, but he wrote letters in Latin to Homer, Virgil, Horace and Livy. Nevertheless, in certain respects he has the modern spirit even in this; and notwithstanding some prejudice, some obsolete and perverse opinion, the air of the new time breathes through most of his Latin verse and prose.

Among the former, the one to which Petrarch gave most labor and from which he promised himself immortality is *L'Africa,* nine books of hexameters concerning the exploits of Scipio Africanus. Following Titus Livius, he sings of the Second Punic War, giving a poetic dress with amplification of some episodes to the narrative of the great Roman historian; it seemed to him that in this was sufficient poetry; and since he was ignorant of the existence of the *Puniche* of Silius Italicus, he made much of the newness of the epic material of which it treated. The poem, begun toward 1339 and finished in 1342, is mediocre in content and form; the personages have too much of the abstract, and Scipio is a poorer pious Æneas; the only beauties in it are some passages of lyric inspiration, as, for example, that of Sophonisba in Book V. We moderns prefer to read the twelve eclogues *(Bucolicum carmen),* and the poetic epistles in three books, in which Petrarch has given fugitive impressions and sincere impulsive sentiments. The eclogues are imitations of Virgil's with more of the mediæval characteristic of continued allegory; each actor of the little pastoral drama either represents some historical personage, or symbolizes some idea; the events of the time are often adumbrated in a way somewhat disguised. The letters in hexameter, *Epistolæ metricæ,* addressed to friends, afford some knowledge of the author's life; now he describes his daily occupations, now he

speaks of the work he is engaged upon, or of his love for Laura, now he denounces his detractors, again he apostrophizes Italy. They are not lacking, either, in artistic beauty. Wonderfully fine is that one in which the poet, from the height of the Monginevra, salutes the greening extent of the Lombard plain,—*"Salve, cara Deo tellus sanctissima, Salve."*

Of Petrarch's works in Latin prose some are erudite compilations. In the *De viris illustribus,* drawing especially from Livy, but always in his own words, he gives with order and clearness the lives of twenty-four famous characters of antiquity, all Romans except Alexander, Pyrrhus and Hannibal, dropping the pagan supernaturalism and making an application of practical morality. This aim is in view also in the books *Rerum memorandarum,* which contain instruction given by means of examples,—anecdotes in reference to a series of ancient and modern characters, in imitation of Valerius Maximus.

Other works are geographic, as instance the *Itinerarium Syriacum;* others polemic, as the *De sui ipsius et multorum aliorum ignorantia.* The most important are the treatises moral or ascetic, though of a tendency explicitly mediæval. In these the subjective element predominates. In the *Secretum,* or "the contempt of the world," Petrarch searches his own heart to its deepest recesses and exposes its unending conflict. In the treatises *De vita solitaria* and *De ocio religiosorum,* while he exalts solitude and the monastic life, he evidently has before his memory the Romans, who were great because, joined by strict social chains, they were strong in action.

The *De remediis utriusque fortunæ,* a voluminous work of the poet's old age, in which he teaches with only a semblance of dialogue form, how man should carry himself in prosperous and in adverse fortune, has amid its rigid asceticism examples and citations derived from the

classics. A living image of the man is afforded by these treatises, as of the poet by the *Canzoniere;* they are supplemented in this respect by the copious correspondence in Latin prose, collected, edited and published by Petrarch himself. There are twenty-four books of "familiar letters" (1326-66), seventeen of *Senili,* written after 1361, one of *Varie,* and one of *Sine titulo,* that is, without the name of the one to whom they are addressed, which were not published by the author because of the too free language in which the habits of the pontifical court at Avignon are censured in them. However, there is more erudition than sincerity in the epistles of Petrarch, more care to emulate the letters of Cicero and of Seneca, than to express faithfully his own emotions.

A friend and admirer of Petrarch, the third of the great Tuscans of the Trecento, had like him a desire to know thoroughly the art of the Romans; he wrote likewise a Latin better than that of the scholastics and of Alighieri, but far from the elegance of some of our later writers; and in the vernacular, besides various valuable writings, he has left us one masterpiece. As Petrarch was the greatest lyric writer, so Boccaccio was the greatest Italian prose writer of the early centuries.

Giovanni Boccaccio was born at Paris in 1313, the natural son of Boccaccio di Chellino, a merchant of Certaldo in Val d'Elsa and of a noble French woman named Jeanne. His father intended him for a commercial life; and about 1330 he resided in Naples, where the Florentine trade was highly prosperous and the merchants of the Tuscan city were welcomed and rose to power. Here, amid the charms of nature and the splendors of art, in the light of knowledge shed upon the city from the court of King Robert, his intellect opened to the appreciation of the beautiful. His father had allowed him to leave business for the study of law; but he gave his attention more to literary studies, frequenting the so-

ciety of the court and the nobility, making love and writing poetry. Maria d'Aquino, a natural daughter of King Robert, who was married to a gentleman of the court, attracted his attention in church one Holy Saturday, April 11, 1338; like Petrarch he fell in love; but the lady was not like Laura; she returned the love of the young poet, encouraged him to write verses and stories, and was for a long time his blond and beautiful lady, his "Fiammetta."

But in 1340-1, recalled by his father, Boccaccio was obliged to leave the gay court of Naples for towered Florence, and the idle society of ladies and cavaliers for the work-a-day people of a busy community. In 1346 he was at Ravenna; in the two succeeding years at Forlí, with the Ordelaffi, and again at Naples; then once more at Florence, honored by his fellow citizens with offices and embassies. He was sent to the papal court at Avignon in 1354 and 1365, and to Rome in 1367; but the lack of a permanent office involved him in straits from which he made many unsuccessful attempts to free himself. Leaving the capital of the kingdom where he had been invited by the great seneschal Niccolò Acciaiuoli, a Florentine whom he had known at his first sojourn in that city, he found noble hospitality in 1363 with Petrarch in Venice. Nevertheless he stayed there only three months, and, jealous of his own dignity and independence, refused the proffers of his friend and of others. In 1373 he obtained at last from the Signoria of Florence an annual allowance of a hundred florins as a public expositor of Dante's *Commedia;* but in the autumn of the next year he was obliged by illness to retire to the castle of Certaldo, the home of his ancestors, where he died December 21, 1375.

Boccaccio left many works, in prose and in verse, in Italian and in Latin. In his love poems he gives some weak reflection of the lyric splendor of Dante, whom he

passionately admired, and of whom he wrote an enthusiastic biography, in addition to a commentary on the first seventeen cantos of the *Inferno.* He followed often in the steps of Petrarch as well, in these poems, though not without some originality. But more original and important are his romances and his longer poems,—the *Filòcolo* and the *Fiammetta,* the *Teseide,* the *Filostrato,* the *Ameto,* the *Amorosa visione* and the *Ninfale fiesolano* ("Nymph of Fiesole").

He began writing the *Filòcolo* in 1338 at the instance of Maria d'Aquino; it narrates the love of Floris and Blanchefleur, the material having been drawn, as it seems, from a Franco-Venetian poem now lost except from oral tradition and a remembered song. It is a long romance in prose, a mixture of classic mythology and Christianity in the dress of Chivalry; it abounds in minute descriptions, interminable speeches, tangled threads of historic and mythologic names. But the fantastic story of these two lovers often adumbrates the actual love of the poet, and the smiling natural beauty and the gallant society of Naples are mirrored in more than one passage, rendering the book less tiresome than it otherwise would be.

Better is *La Fiammetta,* another romance in prose, in which the leading character (Maria d'Aquino) recounts to the ladies, in a style between the elegiac and the declamatory, the vicissitudes of her passionate love for Panfilo (Boccaccio). Although the classic erudition seems superfluous and in a woman's mouth inappropriate; and though the imitation of the *Heroidi* of Ovid as well as of his *Amores,* and in one scene of the *Ippolito* of Seneca, is not always in harmony with the subject, yet the realistic element and the psychologic analysis, notable for that time, render this little book unique and attractive.

Among the poems of Boccaccio the *Teseide* takes by

its length the first place. It is in *ottava rima,* is divided into twelve books with solemn invocations; is interspersed with pagan divinities, descriptions of battles and festivals, reviews of heroes; intended to be for Italy what was for the Romans, if not the *Æneid,* at least the *Thebaïd* of Statius, which was in great part the author's model. In the first two books is told the story of the war that Theseus waged against the Amazons and Creontes, King of Thebes; the following books have for their theme the adventures of two noble Thebans, Arcite and Palamon, who, prisoners at Athens, are both in love with Emilia, sister of the Amazonian queen. But the texture of the poem, more like that of a novel than of an epic, is, notwithstanding the abundance of classic ornament, altogether mediæval and chivalresque; the highest merit of the feeble and prolix poem is in the freedom of certain descriptive stanzas.

But it is surpassed in artistic value by *Filostrato,* which, written in the same measure, but with truer sentiment and simpler form, tells of the love of Troilus and Cressida, the daughter of Calchas. The title Filostrato, according to the poet, means a man "vanquished and subdued by love;" and so it is with the hero whose passion is represented in alternations of felicity and grief, of despair and intoxication, differing much from the Latin or French sources from which he took the material in part, and recalling in the lamentations many suggestions and some distinct recollections of Dante's lyrics.

Boccaccio certainly had Dante's work in mind when he wrote the *Ameto* and the *Amorosa visione.* The *Ameto* or "Nymph of Ameto," written in 1341 or '2, which belongs to the class of compositions with which the poets celebrated the beauties of their time, is the earliest writing of a pastoral nature in Italian verse. Short poems in *terzine* are introduced into the prose story of the loves of Ameto and Lia. The perfecting of man by the in-

strumentality of the cardinal and theological virtues, personified by seven nymphs, appears to be the subject of the moral allegory, which, despite the license of some of the descriptions and stories, is adumbrated from beginning to end.

Another allegorical work is the *Amorosa visione* (1342), consisting of fifty cantos in *terza rima,* where the imitation of the *Commedia* is much more marked. Through this poem runs a vast acrostic: the first letters of the first lines of each triplet form two sonnets *codato,* that is, with added lines and one doubly *codato,* containing a dedication to Maria d'Aquino. One of these sonnets recalls the lyric poetry of the *dolce stile novo;* but the fundamental conception of the poem itself is formed on that of the *Commedia;* since, little as the florid features of Maria d'Aquino accord with the ethereal outlines of the *donna angelicata,* she is exalted in the *Amorosa visione* to represent feminine beauty serving as an instrument for the salvation or regeneration of the soul.

Far better, however, is the *Ninfale Fiesolano,* a little mythological idyl in *terza rima,* Ovidian in inspiration, telling of the tragically ending love of the shepherd Affrico and the nymph Mensola, whose names are perpetuated by two little rivers of Fiesole. In this the confusion of pagan with Christian, of mythology and chivalry, is not met with, the plot, akin to those of the antique erotic stories of Greece, is developed naturally, ending in the familiar legends of the foundation of Fiesole and of Florence; the stanzas are in general well constructed, here and there approaching the manner of the popular roundelays.

Having gained facility in fictitious writing by these works in prose and verse, and inspired more or less directly by his love for Maria d'Aquino, Boccaccio began his masterpiece, the product of the full maturity of his genius, the *Decameron,* upon which he was engaged from

1348 to 1353. It consists of one hundred stories, divided into ten days, and preceded by a proem in which the author describes vividly the pestilence that devastated Florence in 1348. He imagines that seven young women and three men, in order to escape the horrors of the epidemic, betake themselves to a villa north of the city; and that here every day for ten days each one tells a story,—an amorous ballad being sung as a finish to each day's tales. With the exception of the first day, the one whose turn it is to preside, *king* or *queen,* decides the theme to be treated in the ten novels of the day. Thus, in addition to the framework in which the novels are set, there is a certain connection among them, conducing to the symmetry and effectiveness of the book,—as is the case with such oriental tales as "The Seven Wise Men" and "The Thousand and One Nights." The various members of the company have each their characteristic peculiarities and appropriate names.

Many of the tales of the *Decameron* are known in older versions, oriental, French, or Italian. Sometimes Boccaccio used traditions, sometimes he narrated actual contemporaneous events; it is difficult to fix with certainty a direct relationship between his narratives and the fables, miracles and legends sacred or profane, which they most resemble. There is a great variety of plots and characters. Besides novels with full, involved plots like that of Madonna Bertola (II, 6) and that of the Count of Anguersa (II, 8), there are others, themes of mere jest and trickery. Next to a flock of light or wanton women comes Griselda, heroically good, whose story (X, 10) so pleased Petrarch that he translated it into Latin.

The *Decameron* is a mirror of Italian life in the *trecento;* customs and types, drawn from the actual, are pictured in life-like form and color. Look where we will, from Ser Ciappelletto to the Belcolore, from Calan-

drino to Griselda, from Masso da Lamporecchio to Frate Alberto,—we shall find a picture so real, drawn with a pencil so free, such breadth of outline, such care of detail, as in the prose writings of the Middle Ages none can be found more human and altogether more perfect.

The *Decameron* is very licentious and immoral. This the author himself recognized, especially after 1361, when his conscience was disturbed by the visit of one Gioacchino Ciani, formerly companion of Pietro Petroni, of Siena, who had died with the reputation of a saint. However, of the hundred novels, thirty are customarily placed in the hands of the young without fear of evil influence. As says Carducci: "In this great human comedy of the plebeian Certaldesian, the ludicrous, the grotesque, the trivial and the sublime are made use of against cavaliers and friars and against the bourgeoisie in part, as by no one else after Aristophanes and before Molière. The *Decameron,* the human comedy of Giovanni Boccaccio, is the only work comparable for universality to Dante's *Divina Commedia.*"

With Alighieri he has another merit in common; as Dante determined the language of poetry, so Boccaccio first in Italy fixed the language of prose according to the rules of art. His vocabulary is rich and varied, his periods, usually full and complex, are well ordered, his style a little florid, but skilfully formed upon Latin models. His imitators exaggerate whatever is labored and academic in his prose style; but, well composed, such prose was to be a model for our best *cinquecento* writers and a pleasure to foreigners. Among them the Certaldese lived and lives in fame, grace to the *Decameron;* for the other works we have noticed are little known or circulated. The *Corbaccio,* composed after his *chef d'œuvre,* 1354-5, is a satirical invective in the form of a vision, directed against a widow and against women in general, and of little value. Neither are his Latin wri-

tings noteworthy as works of art, though of some historic importance. They consist of a number of epistles, seventeen allegoric eclogues, an attempt at a geographical dictionary, a compilation of mythological subjects,—*De genealogia Deorum*—a series of short biographies of illustrious women,—*De claris Mulieribus*—and nine books, —*De casibus virorum illustrium,*—intended to show the vanity of worldly things.

The light of art and science shed by this glorious Tuscan triumvirate was not confined within the limits of our peninsula. If the influence of Dante outside of Italy was slight, the masterpieces of Petrarch and Boccaccio were soon at home in all modern literatures. In remote England they were rendered familiar almost immediately, being imitated by Geoffrey Chaucer, the father of British poetry (1328-1400), in the *Canterbury Tales.*

CHAPTER III

BEGINNINGS OF THE RENAISSANCE

TUSCANY, which gave to Italy almost simultaneously Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, was in the fourteenth century not only the center of our literary life, but a most busy and productive literary workshop. And all the others, their contemporaries, were indebted to those three supremely great authors.

The fame of Dante, already wide-spread when he died, grew rapidly. In the third decade of the century the first commentaries on his poem were written by Graziolo Bambagliuoli and Jacopo della Lana; in 1373 Boccaccio was chosen public lecturer on it; the *Commedia* was explained in the churches; Dante professorships

were founded in various cities of Italy. There was, indeed, opposition; Francesco Stabili—better known by the name Cecco d'Ascoli (1269-1327), an astrologer who was afterward burned alive as a sorcerer—with dogmatic arrogance accused Dante of heresy in a dry, rude poem in clownish language—entitled *L'Acerba,* and composed of strophes of six lines, a transformation of the Dantean triplet. However, this poem—if a work from which poetic imagination is conspicuously absent can be so called—as it was doctrinal in theme and intended in a way to rival the *Commedia,* may be said to begin the series of imitations of Dante.

These imitations are not at all worthy of the greatest of our writers; it may be because only mediocrity would attempt to follow in his steps, or it may be because to the generation immediately following his death the doctrinal content of his work appealed more strongly than the poetic, and the book seemed rather a miracle of science than an artistic masterpiece. The *Dottrinale* of his son Jacopo is poor enough. Fazio degli Uberti, grandnephew of Farinata, who was born in exile in Pisa and passed his life wandering from court to court in Italy, gathered descriptions of the world under the title *Dittamondo,* feigning to have traversed it guided by the ancient geographer Solinus. It is a poem in *terza rima,* full of reminders of Dante, where it is not mere enumeration of places and historic events, or the treatise of Solinus merely versified.

In the *Quadriregio* Federigo Frezzi, of Foligno, has given us, in triplets, a vast aggregation of allegories and symbolic personifications, confused and abstruse, in the form of a journey through the four kingdoms of Love, of Satan, of the Vices and of the Virtues—regions altogether fantastic, having not even the reason for being that they existed in popular tradition. This poem, written in the last years of the *trecento,* is less rude in form

than the *Dittamondo* and also more varied as regards imitation; for, while it owes ideas, imagery and measure to Dante, in certain descriptions it recalls Boccaccio; but the author, who was a Dominican theologian and from 1403 Bishop of Foligno, sacrificed the poetry to the philosophic-doctrinal and scientific content of his work. This is the case also with the *Fimerodia* ("Famous song of Love") by Jacopo del Pecora, of Montepulciano, a glorification of virtuous love, written between 1390 and 1397 in the prison where the author was confined by the Florentines for political reasons; and also with the *Pietosa Fonte* of Zenone da Pistoia, an apotheosis of Petrarch, who was personally known to the author.

Petrarch, imitated later in innumerable love-lyrics, can not be said to have gathered about him in his lifetime a poetic school. The form of art introduced by the rhymers of the *dolce stile* still prevailed in the first half of the Trecento. Senuccio del Bene (died in 1349), a Florentine of the party of the Bianchi, who returned in 1326 to live in his native city after an exile of thirteen years, approached more nearly than Petrarch, his friend and admirer, to the Tuscans of the preceding century, seeking, sometimes successfully, to imbue his own work with their sweetness and purity.

Matteo Frescobaldi (died in 1348) inherited from his father, Dino, a real predilection for the forms and figures of poesy consecrated by the example of the two Guidi and of Dante. Outside of Tuscany, also, the imitations of the *stile novo* still held the field. The Venetian Giovanni Quirini, who was in poetic correspondence with Dante, adopted it in his verse; Fazio degli Uberti, who had lived at the courts of Northern Italy, especially with the Visconti, and who died at Verona about 1368, shows the polish of that style in his poems—spirited expressions of love and grief, making his songs the most noteworthy of the *trecento,* after those of Petrarch.

Later, in the second half of the century, the manner of the singer of Laura began to prevail in the lyrics of love. The Dantean, nevertheless, continued to exert an influence, and in the love-verses written in youth by Cino Rinuccini (died in 1417), a wealthy merchant of Florence, amid his imitations of Petrarch, which are judicious and not continuous, is often heard an echo of the songs and ballads of Dante.

The first real Petrarchian is Bonaccorso da Montemagno, of Pistoia; his imitations of famous models of our greatest lyric poet were admired in the *cinquecento* and are still valued in some degree; he has but rarely taken colors from the palette of Dante. This jurisconsult, who died in 1429 and was not then old, who taught in the Studio and went as ambassador from the Florentines to the Duke of Milan, belonged by his life perhaps rather to the fifteenth century than to the fourteenth; but by his art he belongs to the latter like Rinuccini, whom he resembles in elegance if not in delicacy. In his time, another element, the classic, pervaded all forms of art and was welcomed even into amorous poetry, where amid pagan and mythologic erudition, every breath of mystic ideality evaporated. He then, the *dolce stile* manner having been cast aside as not adapted to the changed times, found resource against the new fashion in the school of Petrarch.

On the other hand, more than one versifier who lived almost his entire life in the *trecento* attached himself to the traditions of the succeeding one. In Fazio degli Uberti certain reminiscences of writers of antiquity and the use, not frequent but noticeable, of mythologic language, foreshadowed the *quattrocento*. A roving grammarian, who was old in 1374, Bartolommeo da Castel della Pieve, introduces the new element in large measure into his rhymes. Another, who belongs by his art to the fifteenth century, though born about 1360, is the

Sienese Simone Serdini, called Il Saviozzo. A poet salaried by the Guidi and the Malatesta, this singular man, who died by suicide in the prison where he was confined by his last lord, the captain Tartaglia da Lavello, wrote many of his numerous verses at the command of others, or under the names of imaginary persons; and even in those where he expresses his own personality, his style is negligent, his language Latinized. He leads the train of versifiers of the first half of the fifteenth century, who, without wholly abandoning the forms of Petrarch, used in preference the amorous *capitolo ternario,* which showed the influence of the triplets of Dante, the *canzone morale,* which was the most learned form of lyric poesy, and the *serventese tetrastico* or *capitolo quadernario,* a concession in lyric art to the popular element.

The masterpiece of Boccaccio had in the *trecento* imitators more servile than the songs of Petrarch. In 1378, Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, finding himself through adverse fortune,—in exile, as it appears,—at Doradola, near Forlí, wrote a novel to which he gave the burlesque title of *Pecorone.* There are fifty-three stories, which are supposed to be told, two a day, by a friar and a nun; and, besides imitating Boccaccio in this whimsical setting of the tales, he follows him farther in the love-ballads that are sung by the narrators. Two of his stories are taken from the *Decameron;* the others are either dry historic narration drawn, and sometimes merely transcribed, from the chronicle of Giovanni Villani, or development of one or more subjects from mediæval stories. Simple and clear, but yet colorless, Ser Giovanni is obviously far behind his model; and the same may be said emphatically of Giovanni Sercambi of Lucca, (1347-1424), who, moreover, being poorly educated, wrote incorrectly and awkwardly. Nevertheless, this man, a favorite of the powerful family of the Giunigi in Lucca, working in the leisure allowed him by the

cares of the public offices in which he acquired riches and influence, left works much more important for extent and variety than the *Pecorone:* a full chronicle of his city, in which are introduced imaginary didactic tales, and a collection of one hundred and fifty-five novels, twenty-one of them from Boccaccio. In poor imitation of the *Decameron,* they are supposed to have been told by a party wandering from one end of the peninsula to the other to escape the pestilence that broke out in Lucca in 1374.

Many of Sercambi's tales, developing traditional themes in forms otherwise unknown, or known only in the Orient, are aids to the study of comparative literature of their class; but in respect of art he is far behind Franco Sacchetti, who lived from about 1330 to 1400. He was a Florentine, fond of a life of gayety and leisure, who in early life was forced into the busy world of commerce, and later was compelled by domestic straits to accept the office of podestà from his republic or from the Lord of Faenza. In 1392, finding himself appointed podestà at San Miniato, he set himself to write novels, as he had seen Boccaccio do with such success; but without using any similar plan for connecting the stories, he contented himself with simply gathering short tales, little incidents, anecdotes, heard from his clever fellow-citizens, or picked up on his travels through other Italian cities, with the design of giving pleasure to others, and recreation to himself amid the cares of an uncongenial office. He took very little from the *Decameron.* His work has no elaborated ornament, nor subtlety of art learned from the antique; it runs quietly and spontaneously, as memory suggests, and in the current language of Florence.

Of the three hundred tales of Sacchetti, two hundred and twenty-three have come down to us, not all complete. Almost always, the incidents are supposed to have taken

place at times not far distant, and sometimes to have been participated in or witnessed by the author; and there is a certain connection among them by similarity of matter or identity of characters. Words of advice uttered at opportune times, ready rejoinders, jokes at times more knavish than good-humored, subtle turns to ward off a jest or an insult—these are the subjects Franco most affects. He brings before us a host of odd types —or, as he calls them, "new men"—drawn with comic effect. Among the jesters he gives a special study of those that make a profession of affability and artfulness, that is, men of the court, like Messer Dolcibene and Gonnella, who receive money or clothing from the nobles of Italy in payment for their conversation. On the other hand, his work is quite free from immoral intrigues like those of the other novelists; he is modest and decorous. In more than one of his stories he brings in moral admonitions; and in the second half of the *Three Hundred Novels* we find not rarely the *laudator temporis acti,* lamenting or censuring the present. True, his humor is not of the finest, and his anecdotes are sometimes insipid; he is deficient in true literary quality, unlike Boccaccio; he is a clever story-teller, not an artist. But his book is made attractive by its faithful and lively representation of the middle-class society of the country.

The company of the "familiar or bourgeois" poets was distinguished by a special style of poetry not inappropriately called bourgeois poetry; which, not affecting any subtlety of thought or form, aimed solely to picture daily life, often humorously and satirically. Its home was Florence; and the time most propitious to its flourishing growth was the second half of the century when art, deprived of its three glorious lights, was lacking in the nobler forms of ideality. But even before this time there had been those who kept up the traditions of the humorists of the thirteenth century, to which the

form of poetry we are speaking of is allied. The verses of Pieraccio Tedaldi, a Florentine, who died about 1350, having lived a long time away from his "great and joyous city," are less tasteful and original than those of Angiolieri, but like them are indications of the bold recklessness of the Tuscans of that time. Then, we know that from 1333 verses were written by Antonio Pucci (died in 1350?), "bell-maker" and afterward public crier and "approver" of the commune of Florence, who is the most remarkable of the poets of this class. Pucci, a son of the people, wrote for the people—that is, for that part of the citizens of Florence who were so called, though not altogether uncultured; his numerous sonnets, whether humorous, instructive, or satirical, were eagerly sought for and read. In one group of sonnets he relates in the form of dialogue one of his amorous adventures, in another explains the rules of verse-writing. He also treats in poetry and in prose a subject common in the Middle Ages, the accusation and defense of women; and, enamored of his Florence, he celebrates in a chapter in triplets *Le Proprietà di Mercato Vecchio.* ("The Ownership of the Old Market.")

Franco Sacchetti, whose novels have been noticed above, resembles him in some of his work in verse. In the "Battle of the Beautiful Women of Florence with the Old," a curious poem preluding in a way the mock-heroic poems of the succeeding centuries, he enumerates, as Pucci also does, the beautiful Florentine women; in the *Cacce,* short poems without regular rhythm, narrative intermingled with dialogue, he gives lively scenes from real life,—a species of chase, according to the title; in the *Frottole,* capricious in measure and in diction, he jests and instructs in jesting. He wrote lyrics adapted to music, like the song *O vaghe montanine pastorelle* ("O beautiful mountain shepherdesses"), which please by their idyllic freshness and picturesque description.

In this respect Niccolo Soldanieri and Alessio Donati resemble Sacchetti, the second with the greater boldness and more frankly popular style. Their ballads, full of banal jests and animal onomatopeia, as well as certain poems of Franco himself, have an undeniable kinship with the rhymes of a painter Orgagna, probably not the famous artist; but these rhymes—all enigmas, quibbles, and whimsical conceits—are evident precursors of the poetic manner that in the succeeding century was called *Alla Burchia* ("At Random"). The peculiarity common to these versifiers is the union of the sententious and the burlesque. Tedaldi, Pucci and Sacchetti have also verses on religious and moral subjects; Soldanieri sings in many serious pieces the usual *motifs* of gnomic poetry; Pietro Faitinelli, called Mugnone (died in 1349), of Lucca, is both a political and a moral versifier.

Antonio Beccari, of Ferrara (1315-1363?), chief of this school outside of Tuscany, wrote poems, some religious, some complaining of the times; among them a *Credo* in the character of Dante exculpating himself from the charge of heresy, which was attributed to Dante himself. He was an eccentric man, passionately fond of play, of travel, of facile amours—*non mali vir ingenii, sed vagi*—("not bad, but uncertain") as he was characterized by Petrarch, who corresponded with him. The verses he has left, varied in subject and form, reflect such a nature. Then Bindo Bonichi (died in 1338), a merchant of Siena, honored with important offices in his community, belongs among the gnomic poets by the verses in which he treats of virtue, riches and nobility, striving to adorn the arid matter with flowers of imagination.

To this small school belong, not to speak of other authors of didactic poems: Cavalca, to whom we shall refer again, who left sonnets on subjects of morality and religion, fairly good and quite well known in his time; Graziolo Bambagluoli, a notary of Bologna, to whom

we owe a *Trattato delle volgari sentenze sopra le virtú morali* ("Treatise on Popular Ideas of the Moral Virtues"), in hendecasyllables and septenaria irregularly rhymed; and Ristoro Canigiani, a Florentine, who has a poem in tercets, *Ristorato* ("Restored"), from the *Fiore di Virtù.*

But better worth reading than the feeble and monotonous poetry of this class is that which reflects in literature the songs immortally young of the people. We know more than one of the themes they loved; they held their own in the fourteenth century. In the streets under the windows of beauties, in the squares amid lively assemblies, in fields smiled upon by the sun, in springtime, amid the dances of joyous crowds, these songs resounded to the echo, often set to appropriate music by skilful composers. The people delighted also in rhymed stories; public recitations were given with the accompaniment of some stringed instrument, of *cantari* in the eight-line stanza; these were for the most part of oriental origin, translated from the Latin or the French, or episodes of knightly adventure taken from the Breton romances. Pucci has left some of these—*L'Apollonio di Tiro,* the longest, *Madonna Lionessa, Gismirante,* and the *Reina d'Oriente* ("Queen of the East"). The two last mentioned are fantastic tales of the class of fables, and legendary matter is liberally used in all. Other similar novels that have come down to us without names may be the work of Pucci. The author of *La Bella Camilla,* a little poem in eight cantos, is known only as Piero, singer of Siena.

Less attractive to us are the *cantari* on historic subjects by this same Pucci, *La guerra di Pisa* ("The Pisan War")—and of the Sienese singer on the obsequies of the Count of Virtú. But for subjects like these the *sirventese,* or *sirmentese,* is well adapted; it was most popular, whether because the constant beat of the hendecasyllable upon the same rhyme, followed by

the short clause, suggested the march of soldiery to battle, or because public events narrated with comments and warnings in its lines could be easily retained in the memory by reason of the concatenation of the strophes.

Popular historical poetry flourished most luxuriantly in the fourteenth century. After the rout of Montecatini, in 1315, a Tuscan Guelph bewailed the defeat of his party in a vigorous *ballata;* the last enterprise and the death of Can Grande della Scala furnished a subject for a fine *sirventese.* Buccio and Antonio di Ranallo relate the deeds of Aquila in a dialect chronicle in Alexandrian measure, which is rudely effective. The people fell in love with their history; and so Pucci at Florence put into terzets the chronicle of Villani, giving his work the pompous title of *Centiloquio* ("The Hundred Songs"), the number he designed, though he wrote but ninety.

Above all, the defeats, the sudden fall, the death, or the funeral of the powerful struck the imagination; and personification and prophecy were the rhetorical devices preferred by narrators aiming at the greatest effect upon the audience. Thus from personification adapted to the mediæval intellect, originated the great family of the lamentable tales, which in the form of *ballate,* or *sirventesi,* or chronicles or stanzas, were placed in the mouths of persons or personifications that were to excite pity. The prophecies, which professed to have been given by some noted saint or religious before the event to which they referred, took on a special form of verse; and among those cultivating it, two are worth mention—Frate Stoppa dei Bostichi and Tomasuccio da Foligno (1309-1377), the latter a Franciscan who with his prophetic songs aroused the Perugians against the pontifical minister. And finally, political subjects were sometimes treated in the *frottole* according to the oldest acceptance of the word; that is, foolish tricks of meter akin to those

of the prophecies. Later, this name was applied to the *barzellette,* to be spoken of hereafter.

To Francesco di Vannozzo, of Treviso, one of the most productive writers in the last-mentioned class of composition, we owe as well a group of sonnets, in which he exhorts the Count of Virtú to reunite into a single body the severed members of Italy. This prince had pensioned flatterers; and, in general, the political poetry of the fourteenth century, with the exception of the popular, was a servile mouthpiece of the will and ambition of the Italian nobility. Fazio degli Uberti, who wandered from court to court, seems to have been unsteady in his political ideals; Sacchetti was more constant; reflecting the sentiments of the better citizens, he placed first of all the grandeur of his own city, Florence. But such poetry is lacking in spontaneity and freshness. These qualities are to be sought, not only in the popular lyrics already mentioned, but in the *Laudi,* full of religious fervor, of Bianco da Siena, of the Gesuati, an order that was abolished in 1668; in some passages of the poem on the Passion of Christ, attributed to Niccolò Cicerchia, and of the Lament of the Virgin by Frate Enselmino da Montebelluna; and in more than one of the knightly poems and romances that preluded in the fourteenth century the masterpieces of Boiardo and Ariosto.

The epic poetry of Italy at this period consists mainly of material drawn from the French, which superseded the classic. The people grew familiar with fantastic stories badly constructed from French originals but satisfying curiosity and love of amusement, receiving them from the lips of strolling minstrels. Charlemagne and his paladins thus became familiar and interesting characters to our people. Tuscany, where every literary form in the fourteenth century advanced rapidly toward perfection, welcomed eagerly the romance of chivalry. There

the hybrid idiom of Venetian buffoonery gave up the field to a limpid and pure language; the *ottava rima,* or eight-lined stanza, better adapted to the genius of our language, took the place of the monotonous series of lines on a single rhyme; and the prose, adapted to the narration of events, was a fitting medium for the literature of chivalry. The poems on *Buovo d'Antona* and on *Rinaldo da Montalbano,* the *Spagna* in rhyme and the *Spagna* in prose, on the expedition of Charlemagne for the conquest of the Iberian kingdom, and many other romances, some woven from traditional material, some inventions founded in great part or turning on old *motifs,* held numerous auditors hours and days intent upon the recitations of wandering minstrels. If they were in verse, they were divided into *cantari* and sung to the accompaniment of the viol; in prose, they were usually read.

These romances were of material from other countries, having no root in the national sentiment. Our national pride gave rise, among others, to the legend of the Italian birth of Orlando; but at the same time, the austere paladins of Charlemagne pleased us in the guise of wandering knights; Charlemagne was so far deprived of his majesty as to appear almost comic; Rinaldo, the rebellious baron, became the favorite of readers and hearers. And the struggle of the House of Chiaramonte, to which this hero belonged, with the House of Maganza, a race of traitors, acquiring substantial importance in the Italian version of Carlovingian legends, served to bring that multiplex material into order according to a definite and constant design.

Thus were formed vast compilations, and at the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries there were rough copies for the people of the *Reali di Francia* of Andrea da Barberino di Valdelsa, the most famous of the Florentine authors of his class, which are still reprinted in our day. They are like an introduction

to the cycle of Charlemagne, intended to satisfy the curiosity, natural in the people, to know something of the origin and the early fortunes of their favorite heroes. There is told in prose the story, entirely imaginary, of the royal stock of France before the coronation of Charles, assigning to it as its founder the Emperor Constantine; the author undertaking to give his work an erudite tone, so that the people might put faith in its truth. It is curious to see with what an air of conviction he recounts his fables, how he sets forth the connections, what chronological and geographical exactness he displays, corroborating his tales with citations! This has contributed to the extraordinary circulation of the book. Likewise the popularity of the *Guerino il meschino,* another prose romance by the same minstrel, is due to the supernatural in which it abounds. For Guerino in his great journey as a wandering knight sees strange countries, monsters stranger yet, gigantic anthropophagi, the trees of the sun and of the moon and the pit of St. Patrick; and if any one has seen more he has not made it known.

The prose, which assumed these varied forms in novels and in the romances of chivalry during this century, was constantly improving also in the accounts of historic events and in the treatises on religious and moral subjects.

The Florentine chronicle of Paolino Pieri, written between 1302 and 1305, is very dry, holding strictly to chronological order, in the manner of annals, and is antiquated in language. Quite otherwise was it with Dino Compagni (1257?-1324), an honest merchant of Florence, who rose to the first honors in the Republic, but was retired to private life by the triumph of the Neri in 1301. In his enforced leisure he prepared and wrote, between 1310 and 1312, a *Cronica delle cose occorrenti ne' tempi suoi* ("Chronicle of the Events of His Own Time"). He is

more careful about facts than about dates; and he groups his facts according to their nature, trying, not always successfully, to rise from the chronicle to the history. Inaccuracies and anachronisms are not lacking in his short chronicle; but in the important matter, the story of the division of the Guelphs into Bianchi and Neri, Whites and Blacks, and of their successive contests, he gives details unknown to other historians; and he has memorable sculpturesque passages and effective pictures of character. Even if he did not speak of himself in the narrative, as he often does, it would be easy to see that he had lived and acted amid the tumultuous conflict of passions which he describes with dramatic vivacity. Some pages of his chronicle, inspired by sentiments of rectitude and patriotism, are most eloquent.

A much fuller historical work was written by another Florentine merchant. He too held the highest office more than once; he was employed on important commissions, and traveled on commercial business in France and the Low Countries. Giovanni Villani (died in 1348), finding himself in Rome in the jubilee year 1300, seeing "the grand and ancient sights" of the city, and reading the occurrences narrated by serious "masters of history," conceived the idea of writing a complete history, in the vernacular, of Florence, the "daughter and creature of Rome;" and he carried the idea into effect, working at it all his life, and bringing his narrative from the Tower of Babel down to the year of his death, 1348. It is like the mediæval chronicles, including the events of every nation, with particular reference to those of Florence. For the earliest part, biblical and classic legends are used; then it proceeds in chronological order, without any study of the relation of the events, and without citing or considering what others have written of them. But with the seventh book, after the battle of Montaperti, the narrative grows fuller and is based on better

authority. The latter part of the work also is highly valuable, for Villani, with impartiality that does honor to a Guelph of the party of the Neri, referring to things he himself has seen and heard, not great events only, but small and minute, offers a picture of the customs, ideas, and institutions, political and financial, of his age, which would be sought otherwhere in vain. For this Chronicle, notwithstanding the awkward arrangement of the material and the lack of clearness and vigor in the style, is the most remarkable monument of Italian mediæval historiography. It was continued first by Matteo Villani, Giovanni's brother, and then by Philip, Matteo's son, who brought it down to 1364. Several abridgments of it have been made, and it is a source from which many later writers have drawn.

There were other records by Florentines, which, grouping public events about the adventures of the author and his family, may be called familiar reminiscences. One is by Donato Velluti (1313-1370), a Florentine who, accommodating himself to the times and looking for gain, had the art of living at ease and in honors, and drew scenes and figures of the domestic life of the time with candor which makes his work pleasant reading in our day.

Not all the Tuscan chronicles were written at Florence. The *History of Pistoia* narrates with solemnity "all the persecutions and the pestilences of the city of Pistoia and its vicinage for a very long time," that is, from 1300 to 1348. The chronicle of Arezzo, by Ser Gorello, is not in prose, but in terzets in imitation of Dante. Noteworthy by the liveliness of the style and the fulness and variety of the incidents are the stories of travel in the Holy Land by Frà Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libre d'Oltremare,* and of three Florentines who traveled there together—Leonardo Frescobaldi, Simone Sigoldi, and Giorgio Gucci.

But perhaps the fourteenth century owes its character of the golden age of the language, or the good century, and the works then written their value as regards language, not so much to the prose narratives, if we except those of Boccaccio, as to the works written for instruction and didactic exhortation.

In the sermons of the *beato* Giordano da Rivalto (1260?-1311), simple and unadorned as they are, are found some traits of that eloquence which comes, not from the words but from the matter. Another valuable prose writer is Jacopo Passaranti (died in 1357), a Florentine Dominican and preacher. In 1354 he put into the form of a treatise, with the title *The Mirror of True Penitence,* sermons that had been given before crowded houses during many years; enlivening his arguments with images and metaphors, and incidents related with a wealth of picturesque detail, representing vividly the fire of human passion in its inception and course, he has given us a book, unfortunately incomplete, which in the vigor of the style and the native clearness of its eloquence rivals the *Decameron.* Similar praise may be given to Domenico Cavalco da Vico of Pisa (died in 1342), also a Dominican, who wrote of mortality and religion in several treatises, and among other works on asceticism made a free translation into the vernacular of the *Vite dei Santi Padri,* a vast ancient hagiography, showing the wonderful power of faith in the early ages of Christianity. Although more concerned "to speak usefully than to speak beautifully," Cavalco, by the sincerity of his sentiments, warm with fervid love, produces prose that is limpid, graceful, and full of natural power. He is not an original writer, since the doctrines he expounds are taken from the fathers and doctors; but his fecundity and the criticisms on the customs of the time that he gives in the greatest part of his works render him one of the most prized of the authors of the *trecento.*

The aphoristic and ascetic letters of the *beato* Giovanni Colombini of Siena, called by his biographer, Belcari, "fervid and most sweet epistles," should not be passed over; nor those of St. Catherine Benincasa, also of Siena (1347-1380). She left three hundred and seventy-three, addressed to all sorts of persons, from kings and popes to artisans and low women. This wonderful woman, who, a daughter of the people, could heal dissensions—not private dissensions alone—in the name of Christ, could admonish clerics and princes, and say what she thought to every one, without ambiguity, though almost uncultured, has left pages of real eloquence. Her language, it is true, is too fanciful, and her lively imagination has led her to use metaphors, which, referring to things purely spiritual, are peculiarly unseemly, as, for example, "the spotless Lamb roasted at the fire of divine love," and "sins vomited by means of confession"; but the heart has been her incomparable teacher, whence she expresses herself for the most part with clearness and with vigor. In the ascetics of the *trecento,* sincere piety atones for the defects of art. Admirable for clearness and purity are *The Little Flowers of St. Francis,* translated from a collection in Latin of the acts and words of the Saint of Assisi.

Compilations of this kind on subjects moral, scientific and historical, are in general distinguished by purity and effective simplicity of diction. By reason of this excellence, if not of judicious arrangement of material, the *Teachings of the Ancients,* by Frà Bartolommeo da S. Concordio (died in 1347), may be read with profit. The author was a learned Dominican who gathered under this title ethical precepts from the Bible, from theologians and from profane writings, classic and mediæval. The same may be said of the *Flowers of Italy,* by Frà Guido da Pisa, a Carmelite, recounting for the instruction of the unlearned "memorable deeds and sayings of

the ancients, particularly of the Romans." In the second book, many times published separately, *The Deeds of Æneas* is a compend of the Virgilian story in harmonious periods and charming style. A characteristic example of this class is the *Fiorita* ("Wreaths of Flowers"), compiled in 1325 by a magistrate of Bologna, Armannino—a work in prose and verse, giving in great numbers stories and legends from the creation of the world to the time of Julius Cæsar.

The versions made in the fourteenth century of Virgil's *Æncid,* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses, Heroidi,* and other of his works, as well as of some histories—Sallust had an able and vigorous translator in Bartolommeo da S. Concordio—show by the confusions, distortions and mistakes of which they are full, how slight was the knowledge of classic Latin at that time.

But some choice spirits even in that century gave themselves with ardor to the study of the ancient world. These first humanists only followed the traditions of the Middle Ages, with new vigor of imagination; but yet, without such changes of standards, the revival in letters, arts and political theory could not have been so complete in the fifteenth century; the classic Renaissance of the fifteenth had its inception in the fourteenth century. Its greatest precursors were the three supreme Tuscans, and Florence was its cradle. Dante drew from the Middle Ages not only its own ideas, which he incarnated, but the sentiment as well of love for the Romans and reverence for their ancient civilization. In Petrarch classic culture appears more extended and profound than in most of his predecessors. He and Boccaccio are famous for their searches through monastic libraries for Latin and Greek manuscripts, and for the aid they gave to the Calabrian Leonzio Pilato, one of the earliest masters of Greek letters in Italy. The study of these three authors gave the impulse to the scholars

of the circle of Coluccio Salutati, the first of the real humanists.

Salutati (1331-1406), born at Stignano in the valley of the Nievole, was one of those notaries that alternate legal formulæ with hexameters or distichs, and delight in supplementing the statute-books lying open upon their desks with laws of conduct drawn from the *Æneid* or the *Commedia*. He was to be crowned poet laureate, but died before receiving the honor, and the crown was placed upon his tomb; but his fame was especially due to his fervent advocacy of classic studies, in which he followed the work of Petrarch, of whom he was a cordial admirer. His Latin letters, some of them so long as to be dissertations, written to Italian and foreign students of the classics, made his name an authority everywhere. He discovered ancient texts which he corrected and interpreted with great skill while attending to the important duties of Chancelor of the Florentine Republic, and improving the chanceloresque style in his official letters by joining eloquence to the details of political affairs.

About him were gathered, in the latter part of the *trecento*, the most conspicuous representatives of Florentine culture. They were accustomed to assemble in the villa of a merchant-poet, Antonio degli Alberti. There, while the dancing and chatter of young men and maidens were going on about them, the more learned talked of Livy and of St. Augustine, oftener of Boccaccio and Petrarch; they spoke of restoring to honor the language of Latium, but thought also of the glory of that of Dante. Giovanni Gherardi da Prato was a public lecturer on his works, and an imitator in certain of his poems. He described this assembly in a curious and learned romance, *Il paradiso degli Alberti*. Yet the ardor for classic study did not too readily suffer the works of the great Tuscan to usurp precious time; to scholars accustomed to enjoy Livy, Cicero and Tacitus, Alighieri's Latin too

often savored of scholastic barbarism, and Petrarch's seemed cold and colorless. This explains the singular fact that Niccoli, head of the new company of scholars, who had imbibed a love for literary studies from the reading of Dante and knew the whole *Commedia* by heart, said, or could be supposed to say, later that Dante was a poet for shoemakers and his book fit "to be given to the apothecaries to make powders."

The superstitious representatives of the old Florentine school, like Cino Rinuccini, arose, for love of country as well, against these depreciators of its glories. But as the idea of universal Roman empire prevailed among cultured people over that of nationality, as a result of the revival of classic memories, so the Latin admired and studied by the learned of the entire world seemed far preferable to the vernacular. Florence even, where with the decline of the *trecento* came the decline of the literature that, by virtue of the great triumvirate, had from Florentine become Italian, was invaded by classic erudition, intolerant and tyrannical. In the convent of San Spirito the Augustinian Luigi Marsili gathered around him famous students of the humanities; in the public Studio Giovanni Malpaghini of Ravenna, a disciple of Petrarch, educated young men in the revived Latin eloquence; and the Greek Manuele Crisolora began in 1397 the methodical teaching of his own language.

From Florence the cultivation of the humanities spread through Northern Italy, especially in Venetia, where the ground was singularly adapted to it. There, even from the first decade of the fourteenth century, humanism had had notable precursors in Mussato and Ferreto. Albertino Mussato (1261-1329), a Paduan notary who served his city with brain and sword and was ceremoniously crowned as a poet, wrote a Latin poem worthy of praise, considering its date. For his historic works he took Livy and Sallust as models. In a poem in hex-

ameters concerning the siege of Padua by Can Grande in 1320, he followed Virgil; in his minor poems he copied Ovid; and finally, in the *Ecerinis* he gave a servile imitation of the tragedies of Seneca. The *Ecerinis* ("Ezzeliniad") upon the deeds of Eccelin da Romano and of his family, is patriotic in purpose; under its classic garb it is a Christian tragedy in Latin—if, indeed, it can be called a tragedy, and not rather an epic drama or a dramatic epic, from the fact that the author, giving it a title of *epopea,* designed it, not for recitation but for reading, and that the action covers half a century, from 1210 to 1260, with continual changes of scene. Ferreto Ferreti, of Vicenza, who died in 1337, though of loss importance than Mussato, is worthy of mention, because, in his seven books, the last incomplete, of the history of Italy and especially of Vicenza and of Padua, from the death of Frederick II to 1318, he preludes, by the art with which he sets forth his facts and by the polish of his style, the greater historians of the Renaissance.

CHAPTER IV

THE RENAISSANCE

IN the first half of the fifteenth century Italian scholars attempted to make a minute investigation of classic antiquity, and Tuscany came to be the center of these researches. Poggio Bracciolini of Terranova in the Valdarno (1380-1459), pursuing with ardor the work begun in the preceding century, found at St. Gall and in the convents of Cluny and of Langres a copy entire of Quintilian, a part of the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus, the *Silvæ* of Statius, the *Punica* of Silius Italicus, and ten orations of Cicero,

which, joined to the rhetorical writings in more complete and original form unearthed by Gerardo Landriani, Bishop of Lodi, made a considerable addition to the known work of the great orator. Poggio Bracciolini, vain and quarrelsome, but learned and laborious, gathered and incited others to gather small but valuable remnants and fragments, before unknown, of Roman literature, during his long sojourn at Rome, where he was apostolic secretary, and at Florence, where he held the office of Chancelor of the Republic in his later years. In Florence, opulent and at this time more peaceful than in earlier years, the traditions of Salutati were continued with a better method by Niccolò Niccoli, Leonardo Bruni, Ambrogio Traversari, and Palla Strozzi. Niccoli, most ardent apostle of humanism, gathered in his house a rich library and a museum for use in classic studies, and made them free to his friends. Bruni, better known by the name Leonardo Aretino, spent his life from 1370 to 1444, in these studies and wrote numerous works, gained fame and power, and, like Poggio later, held the office of Chancelor. Traversari, a Roman but fourteen years old when he came to Florence, where he entered the convent of the Angeli and became general of the Camaldolesi, united humanistic philosophy with sacred erudition. Palla Strozzi was one of the most perfect of gentlemen and one of the ablest promoters of humanism; through his means the Studio in Florence, which had been declining, was restored to a flourishing condition.

However, the Studio was not at this time and afterward the hearth-fire of culture in the city; the Medici were the soul of it; the protection of art and letters was of necessity an essential element in establishing their power, still in its beginning. And, in fact, Cosimo the Elder, with the aid of that celebrated Vespasiano da Bisticci, the librarian—to whom we owe a series in

Italian of the *Lives of Illustrious Men of the Fifteenth Century*, very able and valuable—gathered manuscripts in great numbers and redeemed from creditors those that Niccoli had collected with so great expense. So, while throughout Italy the ardor of research was continued, and many lived by the labor of hunting, selling and transcribing texts, the principal book-market for buyers and amanuenses was at Florence. There copies, often unique, of the writings of Greece and Latium passed at a bound from cloistered cells, and from garrets where they were the food of the moth, into the hands of those to whom they meant a livelihood.

The unlimited admiration for the old literature favored the claim of the humanists that they were the only competent critics, and that the dispensing of glory or infamy was wholly in their hands. Hence the production of originals in Latin all adulation and invective, and mixtures of the arrogance of the charlatan with the baseness of the courtier, on the part of the majority of those who, not content with studying the classics, used them as the medium for carrying on their rivalries. Francesco Filelfo of Tolentino (1398-1481), a voluminous writer, was of this number. Among his long-winded works, ten books, according to the original scheme, were to have comprehended the *Commentationes Florentinæ de exilio*, written by him in hatred of the Medici; his "Satires" are divided into ten books, ten satires in each, one hundred lines in a satire; hence he called them *hecatostiche;* his collection of epigrams, *De jocis et seriis,* is in ten thousand lines. In all these writings Filelfo lives again as he was—vain, petulant, abusive. He did not hesitate to place himself above Virgil and Cicero, because, having learned Greek well in Crisolara's school and in conversation with his wife, Crisolara's daughter, he regarded himself as the true and unique representative of Hellenic culture. And what contumely in his verses! Pier

Candido Decembrio, who stood first among the scholars at the court of Filippo Maria Visconti, by his versatile genius and his multiplex activity, was assailed in the language of the slums by the jealous Filelfo, who had found profit and honor with the Visconti after being banished from Florence for his presumption.

For the rest, it was a necessity for literati by profession to flatter princes, to depreciate rivals, to acquire lucre. Filelfo was allowed to stay at Florence, at Siena, and at Milan, where he took up his residence successively; but for other humanists, not so prized and feared, life was a continual pilgrimage from one city to another, from one office to another. Necessity or innate restlessness forced Giovan Mario Filelfo to go roving through Italy; he was the eldest son of Francesco, and inherited the bad rather than the good paternal qualities. Gasparino Barzizza, later Professor of Eloquence at the Studio of Pavia, was obliged by the straits in which he found himself with his numerous family to teach the rudiments of Latin to boys.

Vittorino de Rambaldoni, of Feltré (1378-1446), most famous of educators, lived among boys, but by his own free choice. He was a friend and disciple of that Guarino of Verona who led a whole generation of enthusiastic scholars to the study of humane letters in Ferrara, together with Prince Leonello d'Este. In 1423 he was called to Mantua as tutor of the Gonzaga; and in that city he carried into effect the idea he had cherished of a college where, besides a strict education, instruction might be imparted in literature and science, founded upon the study of the ancients, due regard being given to the principles of good conduct. His school sent out able men, who gave a healthy impulse to Italian culture.

Classic studies were also made a part of the education of women in the fifteenth century. There were learned women, authors of praiseworthy orations and Latin

epistles—Isolta Nogarola, Costanza Varona, Cassandra Fedele; princes favored studies of antiquity; and the Church aided the work of the humanists in every way; not only renowned prelates, but the pontiffs themselves coöperated to spread the new culture. For the scholars of the Curia, who had already lived joyously and well remunerated under Martin V and Eugenio IV, a day of rejoicing came with the elevation to the papacy, first of Tommaso Parentuccelli of Sarzana, as Nicholas V, a learned bibliophile, munificent in forming libraries as well as famous for the splendid buildings he erected in Rome; and again, after a brief interval, of Æneas Silvius Piccolomini of Corsignano—now Pienza, from the name he assumed on his elevation to the pontificate. This was Pope Pius II, a true humanist, who as a young man had effused his gay humor in poor verse, in comedies, and in a licentious *Story of Two Lovers.* Having been made Pope, he renounced his past sins, but cherished in his heart the predilections of the former time. He was less warm and pronounced in his advocacy of the humanities than Nicholas V had been, because he held the interests of religion above everything else; but to advance these he made use of the eloquence learned from the classics. His autobiography, *Commentarii Rerum Memorabilium,* is written in fluent Latin, with vivid description and acute observation, and breathes the vigorous and fructifying spirit of the new time.

So the revival of learning entered with the *quattrocento,* giving new energy to all our intellectual life. Then the quick capabilities of the Italians, loosed from the bonds of metaphysical speculation, turned to the study of the world in its multiplex reality; and antiquity was the guide in the transition. Hence the pictures of *paesaggio* by Pius II; the sublime description of the Falls of the Rhine and of the baths of Baden, which Poggio has left us in Latin as powerful as it is limpid;

the profound feeling for nature which is seen in Alberti, in Magnifico, and in others of the time. The school worked its own purificaton; criticism, strengthened by a conception of the ancient world, no longer distorted and confused, drove from its throne the principle of authority.

Criticism is the new spirit of the Renaissance, and it proceeds from erudition. Without the humble company of scholars whom we have seen intent on discovering and arranging the remains of antiquity, the career of the most ardent student of the Renaissance and the most original thinker of the century would not have been possible. This was Lorenzo della Valle, called Il Valla (1405-1457), born in Rome of a family of Piacenza. Of active genius and combative temper, he displayed in discussion breadth of ideas and independence of judgment, and made war upon tradition in eloquence, in philosophy, in theology, and in jurisprudence, all with equal ardor if not with equal success. To his skilful use of the comparative method, by which he applied the full and varied stores of his learning to a special question, was due the fame of his work on the *Donation of Constantine,* a subject treated with less effect by other writers. As is natural, the spirit of independence sometimes led him, especially in youth, to maintain opinions involving paradoxes; but the judgments pronounced with juvenile impetuosity were afterward moderated. For example, in the question of preëminence between Cicero and Quintilian, on which he wrote a pamphlet when he was twenty years old, having gone too far, from a desire to discourage the too exclusive adoration of Cicero, he later modified his opinion and gave a more temperate judgment. Again, in the dialogue *De Voluptate* (1431), attacking the historical and philosophic theories of the commentators on Aristotle, he went too far in criticism of the master, and as if for love of opposition, expatiated

on the ethical theories of the Epicureans; but afterward he showed that there might be one opinion of Aristotle distorted by the commentators, and another of the genuine Aristotle; and also that the desire to vindicate the fame of Epicurus was joined to lively disapproval of the exaggerations of his followers.

For the rest, Valla was not a true philosopher; indeed, he held the philosophers in slight esteem. For solving metaphysical problems he took his stand upon the New Testament, seeking to restore its genuine readings. He destroyed without re-building; he prided himself on having discredited the wisdom of antiquity. He had bitter disputes with Poggio, Panormita and Bartolommeo Fazio, which, however, were not excessively bitter for the temper and practice of the time. This mania for assailing everything, even the most firmly rooted opinions and the most venerated idols, gave him the reputation of a bilious cynic. But it arose from love of truth and an unbridled desire for novelty. With such a disposition, it is not strange that the name of Valla, a thinker more than a writer, is not associated with any artistic work. His Latin versions of Æsop, Herodotus, and Thucydides are inelegant and not wholly faithful; that of the Iliad was incomplete; Latin poetry, the delight of his colleagues, he cultivated with negligent haste. His true vocation was criticism, and there he holds a high place, especially in philological criticism; for philology acts as a light to metaphysics and an aid to dialectics. Before him, Latin writers had depended upon the ear, forming their style by dint of assiduous reading of the classic authors rather than by analytic study. Valla, on the contrary, was subtly skilful in drawing the principles of eloquence from the classics, though not in practising them himself. He was the founder, and the champion, against the opposition of Poggio, of a new school, which may be called scientific. He opened the way long af-

terward followed with great success in Germany. In the *Elegantiæ Linguæ Latinæ,* his principal work, he put new blood into the language, clearing it from the barbarisms of the schools, with a more varied, free, and intelligent imitation of the classics.

Furthermore, modern historical criticism recognizes in Valla one of its precursors; he scorned legends, and tore the laurels from heroes of romance whose names had been held sacred. The solemn and pompous majesty of Livy's history was the supreme ideal of the humanist historians; to it Bruni and Poggio, both writing in Latin the history of Florence, sacrificed exactness of detail and color of place and time. Valla, on the contrary, made his *History of Ferdinand I* lively and picturesque, full of anecdote and true in drawing, not troubling himself about "historic dignity."

The same may be said of the *Decades* of Flavio Biondo of Forlí (1388-1463), which gives the history of the period extending from the time of Arcadius and Honorius to the battle of Anghiari in 1440. In this the author anticipates the modern method of treating the sources of history, and aims at precision and clearness rather than rhetorical Latinity.

The same tendency to realism is shown in the *Commentaries* of Pius II; he describes usages, customs, institutions, and all the impressions of places and events in a manner to bring them vividly before the reader.

As a practical result of this method, antiquarian study was raised to the dignity of a science, supplementing the knowledge of the Roman world and throwing light for the first time on the world of Greece. *L'Italia Illustrata, Roma Instaurata,* and *Roma Triumphans,* by Biondo, treat of antiquities of public and private life with rich abundance of direct observation and of citation. Ciriaco dei Pizzicolli of Ancona (1391-1455), a merchant who, fascinated by the ancient monuments seen on his travels,

put aside his ledger, and went in search of cameos, sculptures and inscriptions in Latin, Greek and Egyptian, may be said to have been a forerunner in the modern science of epigraphy.

As for the knowledge of Greek writers, it spread slowly in Italy, but without interruption. At first the Greek scholars that came to seek fortune among us, like Giorgio da Trebisonda and Teodoro Gaza, had to overcome serious obstacles. Before Hellenic culture could find acceptance with the admirers of the Latin, it was necessary that those not well acquainted with the Greek language should get some taste of the masterpieces of Homer, Demosthenes, Plato and Xenophon. This was furnished by translators, the greatest of whom was Bruni. He, among other works, gave a more faithful rendering of Aristotle than the distorted versions previously made; and Pope Nicholas V arranged for a series of translations of Greek classics, according to one of his great and well-considered designs. By these means Hellenism flourished in Italy in the second half of the century, after the simitar of Mahomet II, in 1453, had cut off the languid life of the feeble Byzantine Empire. Then three most learned Grecians of Byzantium took refuge among us and lectured from our academic chairs—Demetrio Calcondila, Constantino Lascaris, and Giovanni Argiropulo.

The spirit of observation, fruit of the Renaissance, which we have seen exercised by scholars concerning nature and man, when it turned back to the analysis of those very great works of antiquity whence it emanated, gave rise to the cultivation of the labored style artificially formed on the classic models. And in the end the form so prevailed over the thought as to make us masters of style for Europe, but at the same time to take from us the glory of original and fecund conceptions, which Dante had gained for us among the nations. Al-

ready in the Latin works of Petrarch poverty of ideas was visible under the disguise of sonorous periods. In the Latin compositions of the fifteenth century, thought and sentiment stagnated together in the "deadly ditch" of rhetorical eloquence; even with the best, Pius II, the diction took precedence of the matter. So the numerous philippics of the humanists, often violent, are only a sort of intellectual exercise; the epistles that, in imitation of Cicero and Petrarch, they were accustomed to gather, arrange in books and publish, seldom, like Poggio's, bear the impress of individuality. In fine, in their treatises, whatever may be the subject of discussion, these scholars make it their chief aim to give us beautiful pages of Latin prose, taking their material from antiquity without regard to the changes of the times.

The Latin lyrics of this period also owe their inspiration and their form to the classics, but not always their sentiments, which often seem modern and vivid, nor always their material, which usually is drawn from fugitive impressions or constant conditions of real life. The *limæ labor,* wherein lies the secret of the perfection of the songs written in Italy at a later period, did not enter into the work of Gianantonio Campano of Cavelli near Capua, poet of the court of Pius II, who wrote in the middle of the century and preferred to improvise according to his mood. He has the merit of having expressed himself freely in the distich and the ode; an Ovidian fervor of passion breathes through his amorous juvenile poetry. A little later Tito Vespasiano Strozzi of Ferrara married natural spontaneity to the patient mastery of style and verse. The same union appears more strikingly in the greatest lyric Latin poet of the fifteenth century, Pontano.

Giovanni Pontano, who changed his first name to the classic Jovianus (1426-1503), was born at Cerreto in Umbria; but soon after he was twenty he entered the ser-

vice of Alfonso of Aragon and became by adoption a Neapolitan. In Naples he succeeded Antonio Beccadelli called Panormita, as head of the Academy, which was then called from his name Pontaniana. He rose to high political office in Naples and at last to the highest, that of Secretary of State, which he held for ten years. The charm of the Parthenopean bay, the voluptuous softness of nature no less than of life in that city, had a potent influence over him, so that in life and in art he was dominated by sense rather than by sentiment. Reading his *Amores,* his *Lepidina,* an exquisite mythological idyl in hexameters, and his *Hendecasyllabi,* the shores of Pozzuoli and Baia glow divinely beautiful to the eye of the imagination, shining in the sun peopled with the most alluring deities of Olympus. The tempered Epicureanism of the author is displayed in joyous and serene imaginings, in pictures lighted by sensuous love; especially abounding in these is the *Eridani,* where the scene is shifted to the bank of the Po. But, since Pontano reflects in his verses only the fantasies of the Greeks and the Romans, with the superficial sentiment of a bourgeois Italian of the fifteenth century, they please, but do not speak to the heart. He attains to the true height of poetry only in the three most original books in elegiac meter—*De Amore coniugali* where he sings of domestic events with intensity of affection. The group of twelve *Nœniæ* (elegies), dedicated to his own son, is a jewel.

The greatest merit of Pontano consists in his admirable control of the language and versification in Latin. In his philosophic treatises in the *De bello neapolitano,* in the dialogues where the academic society of Naples with its ideas and usages lives again, the style is varied and flexible, without a shadow of pedantry. Pontano has pages of prose and verse of caressing blandishment; he is a contrast to Valla, against whom many times he pointed his arrows; the one was critical, the other en-

thusiastic by nature. But both critical and enthusiastic had to be the perfect humanist according to the Italian type cherished to this day. And such was Angelo Poliziano, a writer who, in learning and in art, in Latin writing and Italian poetry, towered above all others in the *quattrocento.*

Angelo Ambrogini, called Poliziano from the name of his native Montepulciano *(Mons Pŏlitianus),* (1454-1494), when only ten years old lost his father, Messer Benedetto, who fell a victim to one of those ferocious vendettas that are handed down from father to son. So the boy passed his youth in poverty with a kinsman in Florence. Precocious and devoted to study, he listened to an exposition of the Aristotelian doctrines by Argiropulo when he was fifteen years old. But nature and youth, as he said, drew him to Homer; and the boy attempted an undertaking that for nearly a century had been the desire and despair of the most learned—a version of the *Iliad.* The celebrated Carlo Marsuppini had translated the first book by order of Nicholas V, and Politian began at the second. He offered his work to the first citizen of Florence, Lorenzo de' Medici, a young man already surrounded with artistic and literary splendor. Lorenzo called to his side "the Homeric boy"; and so Angelo at sixteen passed from his poor dwelling beyond the Arno to the Medicean palace on Via Larga, where he could have leisure to continue his translation and prepare himself to fill worthily the chair at the Florentine Studio, which was assigned to him not many years later. He was a most learned and genial master, encouraging the young men to unite art with philological science, solid culture with the education of sentiment and taste—a union which is his own glory and the peculiar characteristic of his work. For Poliziano, while he studied ancient codes and—in this an heir of Valla—anticipated the course of modern philology, had at the same

time assimilated the vital sap of classicism as no other before him had done. He wrote exquisite elegies in Latin, epigrams witty and elegant, where the spontaneity of the emotion, united to the perfection of the form, pleases us even in the frivolity of the poetry of occasion. Among his famous elegies are that on the violet and that on the death of Albiera degli Albizzi. In the epigrams in Greek the pupil of Argiropulo gathers the first fruits of revived Hellenism.

Amid such ardor of study concerning the classic world, it is natural that Italian literature should be cultivated less than before. In the first half of the fifteenth century the language in which Dante and Petrarch had astonished Europe lay neglected; the learned, under the delusion that they could restore the Latin to be used exclusively in literature, regarded the Italian, not as a legitimate heir of the Latin, but an ignoble dialect coexisting with it from remote ages.

But Italian poetry was not altogether abandoned by people of indifferent culture; at Florence especially was this the case, where the people were accustomed to gather in crowds upon the piazza of San Martino near Or San Michele, to listen to minstrels and improvisatori, while the supreme magistrates, obliged to stay in the palace, were entertained at table with poetry recited by way of amusement and instruction, or in praise of foreign guests, by an official deputed to this office—the knight herald of the Signoria.

From these professional rhymers, and from others who, amid their daily occupations in the law-courts, in the dwelling of the signori, in shops, strung together verses as best they could, a copious and varied poetic mass is left to be gathered from parchments adorned with colored initials, from collections where the industry of contemporaries had made selections of them, and even from the modest note-books of notaries and artisans.

One of these was printed—the rhymes written in competition which Leon Battista Alberti and Piero di Cosimo de' Medici instituted in 1441 in Santa Maria del Fiore with the praiseworthy intention of experimenting on the adaptation of the native idiom, now neglected and become barbarous, to the development of a theme already treated masterfully by the ancients. In the contest *(certame coronario)* upon friendship citizens of various classes voluntarily took part. The prize, a silvered crown in the form of a laurel wreath, from the Apostolic secretaries, adorers of the Latin, was assigned to no one, not even to Leonardo Dati, future Bishop of Massa, and then an official of the Curia, who said in Italian, in the measures of Virgil and Horace, the same things that they had said in Latin concerning friendship, the same that he had used in his verse concerning other subjects. Yet these rhymes display a richness of form, a mixture of conflicting impulses, the uncertainty of experiments—indicative, in short, of something maturing and almost fermenting in the shadow, whence were to come new masterpieces as soon as the kindling torch of humanistic culture should be applied.

Naturally the classic element prevails in all the poetic productions in Italian during this formative period. To what excess the idea was carried, that exalted personages or colleagues in art should be addressed in solemn Latin style, is shown by the poetic correspondence of Feo Belcari, most celebrated litterateur among the clients of Cosimo the Elder, with his friends and admirers, which is bristling with Latinisms and forced circumlocutions of eloquence. But, though the classic element in lyric poetry gave place to an inappropriate display of historical and mythological learning, it was cultivated among the many by versifiers not altogether beneath notice. Giusto de' Conti, of Valmontone near Rome, has been much admired; his *canzoniere, La bella mana,*

made up of imitations, pure and simple, of Petrarch, is the most copious and least inelegant of that time.

But inspiration was in general lacking in the poetry, Tuscan or other, before the time of the Magnificent. It is the work of versifiers who contented themselves with repeating the conceits and phrases of Petrarch, or of poets by trade who, without vocation and without artistic ideality, made rhymes merely as a source of profit. Further, the lack of rules, the neglect of our own language, and, more than all, the mania that the arrogance of the humanist poets excited in our writers of verse to show that they too were learned—all tended to introduce inversions foreign to the nature of our language, ellipses in profusion, solecisms, sentences badly constructed. The history of letters cannot pass this over; for these lyrics form links in the chain that joins the earlier and later developments of this class of poetry. For example, the *capitolo* in *terza rima,* which was used in the sixteenth century for satire and burlesque, served in the fifteenth, as we have seen, for amorous and gnomic poetry; and the awkward forms into which it fell in the hands of the writers of love-poems, at the close of the fifteenth century and the opening years of the sixteenth, may have suggested to Berni the idea of adopting it in jocose lyric; while the origin of sixteenth century satire may be traced to the didactic-satiric in *terza rima* of the same period. The serious and facetious popular or semi-popular poetry of the time is more attractive and better.

In the fifteenth century the old popular Florentine style of poetry was followed by Burchiello, who revived the manner of Orgagna, and by Francesco d'Altobianco degli Alberti, who affected that of Pucci. Alberti has left many sonnets—gnomic, satiric, and jocose, as well as political. Burchiello—that is, Domenico di Giovanni, called Burchiello—a barber of Florence (1404-1449), at-

tained to fame, not so much by the rhymes in which he sang the *motifs* of burlesque poetry, or by certain fine political sonnets, or the many derisive ones, obscure now, but clear and enjoyable to his contemporaries, as by the speech, *alla burchia,* used by him in more than one composition—whimsical, extravagant, incomprehensible to students of correct language. [*Alla burchia* means "at random;" *burchio* is a bark, and *burchiello* a little bark.] We like the verses that this poor, petulant, and fantastic son of labor made amid the straits of poverty, the misfortunes of exile, and the discomforts of prison where for slight cause he languished for months. They bring the merry and gossiping populace of Florence living before our eyes. Then there are *ballate* full of fresh gayety, written by Francesco Alberti and others, bringing before the imagination the gilded youth who sang them to maidens of Florence; and certain lauds most emotional and sweet, amid the infinite number that have come down to us, carrying us in thought into the midst of the pious congregations of the artisans of that day. Both *ballate* and lauds were forms that deserved to be artistically treated later by Lorenzo the Magnificent.

Throughout Italy, not alone in Florence and in Tuscany, the people, left to themselves, held their harmonious language without further capricious innovations. The lyric poetry is all of sentiment, full of color and spontaneous, at times warm with passion, at times cynical or jocose. The people had a poet of their own, an artist, who perfectly understood their spirit. Choosing subjects long familiar and congenial to them, he wrote and set to music lays and songs that ran triumphant through the peninsula. This was a Venetian of the high nobility, of political importance, a learned translator of Plutarch and a disciple of Guarino of Verona—Leonardo Giustinian (1388?-1446). He proved that in one person might coëxist the learning of the

humanists and the sentiment of the people—coëxist separately—each in distinct operation; but already a step was taken upon the way to fusion of the classic with the popular elements of art. To Giustinian belong the first honors of vernacular literature during the period that may be called preparatory of Italian humanism.

And now we come to the second period, when the fruits of the labors of research and illustration began to be gathered, and poets educated in the school of Virgil and Horace appropriated from classicism not alone the raw material but the exquisite art. The union of this with the living spirit of our people was complete, and it gave to our literature a national character. It was effected in Florence, a new Athens, by the patronage of Lorenzo de' Medici, emulous of the magnificence of Pericles. The verses in Italian, by his client and friend Politian, are classically elaborated and yet freshly fragrant.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, literature and art shone with most brilliant luster in Florence. At the end of 1439, on the occasion of the transfer of the Council from Ferrara, which aimed to heal the dissensions between the Greek and Latin churches, two Greeks who had come there in the train of their Emperor brought and diffused a better understanding of the Platonic and Neo-Platonic doctrines. They were Giorgio Gemisto Pletone, then more than eighty years of age, and Bessarione, his disciple, soon afterward made Archbishop of Nicea. They had reconciled the disputes long carried on among the Greeks settled in Italy by the partisans of Plato and those of Aristotle, and had contributed to a better understanding of other ancient philosophic systems. In conversation with Gemisto, a curious type of visionary who assumed the role of religious reformer, and in whom his disciples imagined they saw the transmigrated soul of Plato, Cosimo the Elder conceived the

idea of reviving the Academy of Plato in Florence, where the philosopher-artist of Athens would be more congenial than the Stagyrite to the temperament of the citizens. For this purpose he turned to Marsilio Ficino (1433-99), who in the quiet of the villa at Careggi, given to him by Cosimo, and with the manuscripts furnished by his patron, was engaged in translating into Latin all the writings of Plato and Plotinus, illustrating and explaining their theories systematically in the eighteen books of his *Theologia Platonica.*

Thus Florence has the glory of having coöperated in that age to deliver science from the chains of scholasticism. But the art took precedence of the thought. The members of the Platonic Academy, flowering again in the shade of the Medicean hegemony, joined one to another by a spiritual bond, strove to unite the Muses with the Graces, to adorn the teachings of wisdom with the beauty and the genial serenity admired in the dialogues of Plato. Cristoforo Landino, one of the principal members, not only expounded the doctrines of his school with grace and elegance, in the *Disputationes camaldulenses,* but left fine elegies in Latin, and a commentary in the vernacular, on the *Commedia,* which inaugurated a new era in the study of Dante. These were above all literati; Ficino was above all a scholar, not so much original as philosophic. They turned aside into Alexandrian mysticism, while Giovanni Pico, Count of Mirandola (1463-1494), called by his contemporaries the "phœnix of genius," a follower of Ficino in Florence, ended by losing himself in the labyrinth of the Jewish Cabala.

To sum up, the Renaissance in Italy was artistic, not philosophic; even Pico versified in Italian and composed five books of Latin elegies. At Florence, center of the new culture, a city adorned with the most varied and admirable works of art, the contemplation of the beautiful distracted from the speculative search for truth.

Perhaps the best result of Platonism was in the gain to art—seen, for instance, in the veil of ideality enveloping a great part of the love-lyrics of Lorenzo de' Medici. From Ficino and Landino he acquired a love for the Platonic philosophy and admiration for the classic world. In the same meter, the *terza rima* of the eclogues and of historic and scientific poetry, he wrote the *Corinto* and the *Altercazione*. In the former, the shepherd Corinto complains like the Cyclops of Theocritus and Ovid; in the latter a problem of the Platonic philosophy is treated.

Lorenzo de' Medici, called the Magnificent (1449-1492), who, in fact if not in name, held in his firm hand the government of Florence, and was so wise in his dealings with other potentates as to become the moderator and arbitrator of the peace of Italy, protected the humanistic studies and the arts, increased the Medici library and his hereditary collections, lived with men of letters, and was himself an able litterateur in the Italian language. He began verse-writing early. When he was but eighteen years old, Frederic of Aragon, second son of the King of Naples, asked him to collect for him a small anthology of Italian poems; this he did, and among them he introduced several of his own. All his lyrics bear witness to his "long study and great love" of the poets in Italian of former times and his own. If they are Petrarchian, the imitation is not servile or exclusive. He has indeed taken or imitated imagery and ideas from other poets, especially from Cavalcanti and from the *Vita Nuova* of Dante, which he has followed in accompanying some of his poems with explanatory prose.

This occasioned much variety, but also a certain disparity in his style. In his *canzoniere* Lorenzo did not succeed in forming a manner of his own from the diverse elements and styles of his models; his eclecticism consisted in taking for imitation now this and now another model; he is spontaneous and original only in his de-

scriptions of the aspects of nature and the images they suggest to him. Therefore his other poetic work is to be preferred to the *canzoniere,* formed as it is in a mould constantly varying. Unable to unite various elements in one artistic literary creation, Lorenzo passed without difficulty from a poetic idyl to a burlesque, from a serious imitation to a parody. With the *Ambra* [name of a small island], a little poem in octaves, which like Boccaccio's idyl of Africo and Mensola, tells the story of one of the many fables of transformation after the manner of Ovid, he has in the same measure the *Nencia da Barberino,* a jocose representation of the modes of thinking and feeling of the peasantry, and in *terza rima* the *Beoni,* a witty parody on the *visione-trionfo.* He is always imitating the classics or following the traditions of the country. Thus in the *Beoni* ("The Tipplers") the list of the names of topers, which is its principal feature, makes it one of a cycle of poems introducing such enumerations that began with Petrarch's *Trionfi.* Those that are serious, in the form of allegorical visions or fantastic journeys, are of ancient lovers, of famous personages, of beautiful women; those in jest (as certain curious little poems by the Florentine Stefano Finiguerri) are lists of bankrupts and madmen. Then the *Caccio col Falcone* of Lorenzo is not without resemblance to the fourteenth-century *Caccie* of Sacchetti and Soldanieri. This also is in *ottava rima* and has much of their light vivacity. If in the *Selva d'Amore* ("Forest of Love") Lorenzo appears original, it is because in the variety of subjects such as no other has associated together, if not in the Platonic conception of love, he has mirrored the essentially versatile nature of his genius. In these the elegiac element is less prominent than idyllic picturesqueness, the amorous entreaty than the myth—always in graceful octaves suggestive of Ariosto.

With Lorenzo de' Medici the humble poesy of the

people mounts into the palace on Via Larga. He who in traveling followed the reading of some page of St. Augustine with the singing of *ballate,* wrote brisk and light songs of this class and invented a special variety, the licentious *Canti Carnascialeschi* (Carnival Songs), sung by persons riding on cars through the city.

This homage to the muse of the populace came appropriately from the son of a merchant who had risen to supreme power. Wonderfully prolific, the people at the close of the fifteenth century and for some time afterward fused in the crucible of the *ottava rima* matter, sacred and profane, serious and jocose, classic and romantic. Not only prolific but felicitous, their *barzellette* or *frottole,* simple rhythmic ballate, and their *strambotti* or love-songs were pleasing, these by the easy rhythm, those by the conceits ingeniously expressed in their eight lines. The best of our poets of that time, satiated with outworn Petrarchianism, drew their inspiration from the people. Thus the prince of the humanists, Angelo Poliziano (Politian), having learned the May-day songs of the peasantry, reproduced them, often adding to their native freshness an Attic elegance. Moreover, he has substituted for the sonnets, forms of the popular song, matinées, serenades, farewell songs, some of which are most beautiful. The same may be said of Pulci, the movement of popular love-ditties being reflected here and there in the *Morgante.*

Politian's masterpiece in Italian, the *Stanze per la Giostra,* also owes its greatest charm to the spontaneity that marks the poetry of the people. The subject, a tourney in Florence, seems peculiar for a poem of the end of the fifteenth century. But the necessity for pleasing imposed such subjects on the court poets. Giuliano, the younger brother of Lorenzo, took part in the joust of January 28, 1475, which was celebrated in Politian's poem, and he carried off the highest honor. But the literati of

the Renaissance made beauty of form the end of poetry; and to Politian the tourney was but a pretext. His intent was to draw the form from the treasures of classic art, fusing popular spontaneity with elegance derived from the antique, and adapting to a little poem in octaves the mythological setting, the copious personification, the pagan coloring of his Latin songs. In the *Stanze,* an idyl of love with a varied and pleasing succession of rural scenes follows the epic opening of the poem. Giuliano is represented as a youth who scorns love and is wholly given to the exercises of the chase. By the revenge of Cupid, he is drawn away to follow a white hind—a false simulacrum—and loses himself in a strange, far-away place, where he meets a nymph of marvelous beauty and gentleness, standing for Simonetta Cattaneo—of whom Giuliano was actually enamored—and immediately falls in love with her. Cupid, exulting in his triumph, runs to carry the news to his mother's kingdom in Cyprus. This gives occasion for a digression upon Cyprus, a splendid paraphrase of Claudian, filling with picturesque description the second half of the first book. Only a few stanzas of the second book were written. Either from satiety or on account of the death of Giuliano, which took place in 1478, the author left his poem at the point where the principal part of the story, the tourney—less poetical, perhaps, than the opening descriptions—was about to begin. Possibly this is not to be regretted. The charm of the *Giostra* is in the variety of subjects, in the perfect fusion of diverse artistic elements, in the natural, unforced mingling and assimilation in the verse of imagery taken from Ovid, Catullus, Virgil and Lucretius.

To appropriate and perfect, without regard to originality of the matter, aiming only at the felicitous reproduction of the manner and the ideas of the ancients, was the common ambition of the Italians in this second stage of the Renaissance. The strongest testimony to this is

afforded by a book of prose in Italian with verses interspersed, which was received with admiration in Italy and in other countries—the *Arcadia* of Sannazzaro.

Jacopo Sannazzaro (1458-1530), friend of Pontano, and fellow-Academician (his academic name was Actius Sincerus), was a gentleman dear to the Aragonese not less for his teachings than for his valor in war. He was one of the best poets in the revived Latin. His *Piscatoriæ,* of Virgilian elegance, his elegies and his epigrams, among which, together with gay juvenile poems, are found others bewailing the past and pouring out the tenderest affections of the heart—these make of Sannazzaro a precursor and harbinger of the great century, into which his life extended. What was his aim in the *Arcadia?* A mosaic of imitations of those ancient writers that were so familiar to him, in the form of a pastoral romance, of mingled prose and verse, like the *Ameto* of Boccaccio, and containing an autobiographic allegory with allusions to real personages and events. The verses are eclogues, the prose parts descriptions of rural scenes; the theater of action is Mt. Partenio in Arcadia. Consequently the imitations are of ancient bucolics; and every time that these are brought within his reach by community of subject, Sannazzaro shows that he had more than one in mind. To contemporaries this plunder seemed fine and the excessive luxury of ornament a splendid thing. But reading the *Arcadia* now, we are wearied with the fictitious world peopled by characters faint, symbolic, uniform. We prefer the piscatorial eclogues in which Sannazzaro has drawn with vivacity and freshness the shore of his country. We prefer, were it only for the finely cut hexameters, the short poem *De Partu Virginis,* the careful work of his maturer years. The "originality in imitation," which cannot be denied to Politian, is lacking entirely to the author of *Arcadia;* nor can there be any comparison between his measures and the *ottava rima* of the

Stanze, in which Politian has fused into new harmony the diverse tones of his multiplex imitations.

None the less the *Arcadia* is a work most important in the history of our literature. Into the midst of the rhetoric feeling sometimes makes its way; and that it is sincere and warm with the poet is shown by the fact that he followed his king into exile. Sannazzaro appears to us the chief of those who continued the tradition of Boccaccio, as Bembo continued that of Petrarch, followed in the reforming of his own rhymes by Sannazzaro himself. In *Arcadia* he not only imitated the style of the Tuscan novelist, spoiling where he did not cut away entirely that magnificent foliage, a little too luxuriant, which he should simply have pruned, but he led the prose back to the faithful reproduction of the idiomatic type of Boccaccio from the hybrid dialect of his Neapolitan confraternity. Masuccio Salernitano too, the most remarkable among the novelists of the fifteenth century, must have had the *Decameron* in mind when he wrote his *Novellino,* which draws its material, now from the great patrimony of popular tradition, now from actual facts, especially from the corruption of the clergy of his time. His vocabulary and syntax abound in elements of the vernacular. Sannazzaro, on the other hand, in the revised edition of his pastoral romance (1504), cleared away almost entirely from the language the taint of dialect which was in the preceding editions as an effect of the uncertainty of pronunciation and writing at the end of the fifteenth century.

The *Arcadia* represents a stage of our prose more advanced than that which had been represented in Tuscany by the writings of Dominici, Palmieri, and Alberti. Giovanni Dominici (1356-1419), a Dominican and an ardent opponent of classic studies, which he deemed harmful to religion, wrote *Governo di Cura Familiare* and *Libro dell' Amore di Carità,* with the object of counteracting the ef-

fect of the humanistic writings, and inspired by the most austere Christian morality. He used the current Florentine speech, but with little skill and with a certain exaggeration derived from imitation of ascetic Latin prose. Matteo Palmieri (1406-1475) held the highest offices in his native Florence and learned from good masters an elegant Latin style, which he used for historical work. In Italian he wrote a philosophical and theological poem in imitation of Dante, *La Città di Vita,* ("The City of Life"), and a dialogue *Della Vita Civile* ("Of the Civic Life"), from classic sources, in particular from Cicero, Quintilian and Plutarch.

Leon Battista Alberti (1407-1472), of the distinguished Florentine family of the name, a man that may be said to have been a universal genius and a writer still held in honor, treated of science and of art, of morals and of æsthetics, with equal acumen and lucidity, reviving in his Latin works the subtle inventions of Lucian, and in his Italian dialogues the learned prose style. His literary fame rests largely on the four books *Della Famiglia,* on the education of sons, the government of the household, and the choice and conserving of friendships, with copious erudition drawn from ancient writers and from the experience of life. The style of Palmieri and that of Alberti, while tinctured with the Latin, especially Palmieri's, still comes quite near to the simplicity of the fourteenth century; so true is this, that the third book of the *Famiglia,* being attributed to Agnolo Pandolfini, who wrote at an earlier date, was excepted from the general neglect of fifteenth-century prose. As a specimen of language it pleased and still pleases the purists no less than the *Vita del Beato Giovanni Colombini da Siena,* by Feo Belcari (1410-1484), another Florentine who is highly praised for the limpid and pure style of his eloquence. We may, perhaps we should, prefer their prose to that of Sannazzaro. Certainly, the *Arcadia* is more wearisome reading

to-day than the lively novel of Grasso Legnaiuolo, the familiar letters of Alessandra Macinghi-Strozzi, where sincere feeling is expressed in the current language of Tuscany, and some of the chronicles and familiar reminiscences, praiseworthy for the pure simplicity of their style.

But let the mind be turned to the prose written with serious artistic intent; let the historic chronicles—the *History of Milan,* by Bernardino Corio, and the *Compend of the History of the Kingdom of Naples,* by Pandolfo Collenuccio of Pesaro—be opened; and also the novels—not those coarsely written and put together at random, like the licentious work of Gentile Sermini of Siena, but those produced with care after the plan of the *Decameron,* like the *Porrettane* (so named because they are supposed to have been recited at the Baths of Porretta), by Giovanni Sabbadino degli Arienti of Bologna; and, finally, let the collections be examined where will be found double-distilled love-letters and carefully prepared discourses; and it will be seen that from these writings to the *Arcadia* our prose took a gigantic step.

The cultivation of form, the study of the classics, will later carry to perfection the epic of chivalry. In the second half of the fifteenth century, artistic poets, taking it from the hands of the minstrels where it was degenerating into rigidity, endowed it with life and variety.

Luigi Pulci, a Florentine (1432-1484), a great friend of Lorenzo de' Medici, from whom he received political commissions, and to whom he sent facetious verses and letters full of fire, was a genius and a humorist, witty, fantastic, biting. The sonnets in which he derides Bartolommeo Scala, Chancelor of the Republic, and those in which he attacks Ser Matteo Franco, another "bizarre Florentine spirit," who repaid him in the same coin, display his satiric humor. His love-songs and the *Beca da Dicomano,* in which, imitating the *Nencia,* he openly paro-

dies rustic poesy, show the popular character of his inspiration. In the *Morgante,* a romantic poem in *ottava rima,* written between 1460 and 1470, published in 1482, and reprinted with five additional cantos a year later, Pulci, playful and witty, may be said to be half-way between the people and the literati, between popular and artistic poetry. He conserves the best of the minstrels, the easy movement of the octaves that were set to music in San Martino, the religious invocations at the beginning and the pious auguries at the end of each canto; but he tempers and enlivens, arranges and gives color. Thus from his hands, in place of a feeble and tiresome rigmarole, comes a book well constructed and brilliant.

Luigi Pulci, as Rajna appropriately observes, "has only plastered the rustic walls built by a poet of the people, placing upon them a roof constructed with rafters and tiles whose origin we can discover." In the first twenty-three cantos he has taken the material from an anonymous poem, also in octaves, written about 1380, in which are related the enterprises and adventures of Orlando and the other paladins exiled through the perfidy of the Maganza. In the five cantos added later he was indebted to the Italian versions of the rout of Roncesvalles, especially to the *Spagna in Rima,* a very popular poem in the fifteenth century, not without merit. Yet in his hands the story assumes a new and original character, by the ingenious mirthfulness of some of the inventions, by the abundance of Florentine phrases, by the fun that lurks within every part of it. Without exactly intending to satirize the world of chivalry, the subtle Florentine shows us paladins, to more than one of whom the voice of the appetite sounds not less imperious than that of honor. Morgante, big as a mountain and of voracity proportioned to his stature, dies comically, because a crab has bitten his heel! Pulci added two very long and important episodes of his own invention: that of Margutti, a half giant,

shrewd and knavish, who laughs at everything and at last bursts with great clatter in a fit of immoderate merriment; and that of Astarotte, a demon very wise, honest and serviceable, who discourses learnedly on theology, and preaches Christian dogmas. In the *Morgante,* as in the *Ciriffo Calvaneo,* a poem of chivalry attributed to Luca Pulci, the constant fun, contrasting with the original dignity of the subject, is a source of amusement. Luigi Pulci is believed to be the author of the *Ciriffo* also, with the exception of the beginning; for Luca, his brother, was a poetaster, as shown by the Epistole in imitation of the *Epistolæ Heroidum* of Ovid which he left, and his *Driadeo d'Amore,* a mythological poem in octaves, where the little good poetry seems to belong to Luigi himself. Certainly the other little poem, the *Giostra di Lorenzo de' Medici,* which long went under the name of Lucca, is the work of his brother.

The *Morgante,* a faithful mirror of the mind and nature of Pulci "makes a place for itself" among the romances of chivalry. The last natural development of this literary genus, which Ariosto afterward turned aside upon the lines of the epics of antiquity, is represented by the *Orlando Innamorato* of Matteo Maria Boiardo, Count of Scandiano.

Boiardo (1434-1494) was one of the most distinguished gentlemen of the court of Ferrara. There, and in his native Scandiano, and wherever he was sent on important missions, he took his recreation from his various cares of office in the company of literati and in congenial studies. He wrote songs in Latin and a bucolic in the manner of Virgil; he translated from Herodotus, Xenophon, Lucian, Apuleius and Cornelius Nepos; his work in Italian included a fine collection of songs, a theatrical composition, *Timon,* and some eclogues giving effective pictures of love and nature.

What did this learned feudal lord design to produce

when he put his hand to his romantic poem? A work of art according to his studies and his theory, and a book of feats of prowess and adventures, which were suggested to him by the traditions and customs of the nobility. Therefore he turned to the Breton cycle of tales, essentially aristocratic, which the higher classes of society especially delighted in; but, aware of the popularity of the characters of the Carolingian cycle—old acquaintances throughout Italy—and of their reality in the imagination of the people, he took his *motif* from this, and followed it in the design of his work, at the same time enlivening and, as it were, rejuvenating it with material from the Breton cycle. In fine, he effected a fusion of the world of Arthur with the world of Charlemagne, and from both cycles, as well as from that of classic antiquity, he took with discretion and skill, re-shaping and giving to the whole the impress of his own genius. Thus it may be said truly that he created a new poetic world, in which love, before unknown to the Carolingian heroes, appears so triumphant as sometimes to turn Orlando, the hero, into ridicule.

For the rest, an "interior laugh," as Pio Rajna says, a laugh bubbling up from under the outward appearance of seriousness, winds through the *Orlando Innamorato* without giving the impression of parody. A cavalier himself, generous and upright, the Count of Scandiano admired the valor, the courtesy, the knightly loyalty that he drew in his scenes; but as a good humanist, not destitute of practical sense, when he awoke from his poetic fantasies he saw them as such and laughed at them to himself. Turning into one channel, as we have said, the two principal rivers through which the mediæval epic flowed, making the hero of the *Chanson de Roland* forget the beautiful Alda for the pagan Angelica, and sending out the serious paladins of King Charles on the track of frivolous and fantastic adventures, which

were the delight of Arthur's knights, Boiardo opened an inexhaustible mine to romantic Italian poetry. "The ladies, the knights, the arms, and the loves" have a large share in the *Orlando Innamorato*. In other respects as well it preluded Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*—by the characters, by the subtle irony scattered through it, and by the marvelous richness of poetic invention. But it lacks the charm of art instilled by sane classicism, which alone could render pleasing the immense mass of adventure often carelessly thrown together. Neither has Boiardo, a Ferrarese, the pure and vivacious language of the Tuscans, which his illustrious contemporary not many years later knew so well to make his own.

In the drama the effects of the Renaissance were not seen till a later period. During the fifteenth century there were only imitations of the classics in Latin theatrical compositions, caprices of erudition, without influence on the vernacular drama of the time. Fine passages, it is true, were not lacking in the humanistic comedies; true, too, that the *Philodoxus* of Leon Battista Alberti, which might be thought a classic work, is pleasing by the simple and tender language of its love-passages, and that others among these comedies, borrowing from the *Decameron* or gathering plots and characters from contemporary life, drew pictures of their time full of comic force. But in order that, idiom and measure being changed, the Italian drama might come into competition, as it were, with those of the Greeks and of the Romans, it was necessary that two diverse branches should flow into one—the sacred and the profane, or classic. The idiom and meter, in fact, had been for almost two centuries the medium of the religious drama, of which a new form, the *rappresentazione sacra,* gained popularity and importance in the fifteenth century.

Not independent of the shadow of the *devozione,* and perhaps not even of the French "mystery" of the four-

teenth century, the *rappresentazione sacra* was a thing all Tuscan, which blossomed on the banks of the Arno, from new shoots on the old trunk of the scenic parades in use at Florence, especially at the feast of St. John. The pantomimes of scenes from the Old and New Testaments were now clothed in words; the *ottava rima,* dear to the people, became the favorite measure; the lives of the saints and legends of a moral tendency supplied varied and pleasing material. Among the authors of these pieces were Feo Belcari, some of whose work of this class is very good, and Bernardo Pulci—the youngest of the three poet brothers—who owes his reputation more to a dramatic version of the famous legend of Barlaam than to any of his songs, to his version of the Bucolics, or to his little poem in octaves on the *Passione di Cristo.*

Lorenzo the Magnificent wrote a *rappresentazione, Saints John and Paul,* which is justly praised. But this dramatic form could not be very long-lived, on account of its anachronisms, its lack of verisimilitude, its abrupt changes of the action from one to another of the places, which were represented in adjoining compartments. Yet it included elements, intrinsic and extrinsic, adapted for separate development; for example, that which may be called realistic, introduced into the *rappresentazione sacra* to gratify the desire of the people for seeing every-day life reproduced upon the stage; and, on the other hand, the marvelous or romantic, abounding in some of them, as the *Stella* and the *Santa Uliva.* In fine, there was a gradually increasing tendency in these sacred dramas to pass into secular spectacles. It occurred to a Florentine humanist to adapt the language, the rhythm and the stage-setting to a fable of classic mythology. The earliest experiment in secular drama in Italian is the *Orfeo* ("Orpheus"), produced in 1471.

In this drama, written by Politian at Mantua in two days when he was but seventeen, during certain festivals

in honor of Cardinal Gonzaga, the fable of Orpheus and Eurydice is presented briefly in dialogue, and, as in the sacred *rappresentazioni,* it is preceded by an annunciation put into the mouth of a celestial messenger—Mercury in this, instead of an angel; and two places stand before the spectators at the same time—one a plain with a mountain in the background, and the other Hades, into which at a certain moment the hero passes. It is not a drama proper; because the story is shown in all its parts at the same time without progressive evolution and contrasted effects in the characters. Instead, the very simple plot is made up of short lyrics in Italian, grouped about a Latin Sapphic in flattery of the Cardinal. This forms, as it were, the nucleus, and divides the short composition into a polymetric eclogue, and a *rappresentazione,* similar to the sacred, in octaves narrating hastily rather than representing—when they are not lyrics resembling the popular *strambotto,* closed at last by a Bacchic *barzelletta,* sung by dancing Mænads.

The example of Politian was followed at the court of Ferrara, seat of courtesy and culture, by Niccolò Postumo, Signore of Correggio, a perfect cavalier, educated by study of the works of genius. In his *Cefalo,* a paraphrase of an episode of the *Metamorphoses,* he gave the first secular drama in Italian that develops an actual plot. Other mythological fables, like the *Danaë* of Baldassare Taccone, recited at Milan in 1496, have full dramatic development and required sumptuous settings. In these the mimic coreographic representations of classic subjects, already in use at Italian courts, assumed literary form, just as the popular scenic pantomimes of Florence had acquired theirs in the *sacre rappresentazione.*

Thus even in the drama at the end of the fifteenth century was shown the identity of taste and the community of intellectual amusement existing between the upper classes of society and the people. Lyric poetry offers

more remarkable examples. In Rome, when improvisations were given by Bernardo Accolti, of Arezzo, called "the Unique," the tradesmen and mechanics closed their shops, as on festal days, and gathered to listen to him, besides Academicians and prelates of the Curia; at Naples, under Ferdinand I of Aragon, the poetic challenges of the singers popular with the people were reproduced in the circle of gentlemen, more harmonious and less free.

So poetry became an amusement of courtly society. Professional poets entertained the leisure of princes, giving their work a character of buffoonery. Gentlemen that were friends of the Muses versified for the gratification of illustrious ladies and to smooth the way to their gallantries. This class of writers have no sincere sentiments to express, nor would know how to express them; their study is not to produce work excellent in itself, but to have the applause of *dilettanti,* whose curiosity must be stimulated. Therefore the merit of the poet depends, according to the taste, on the conceits, the whimsicalities, the unexpected turns, on drawing material from rapid rhymes by a nonenity. There is a *preziosità* of conception and of form, which is derived not so much from abuse of metaphorical language as from ill use of it—that is, from attributing to the proper sense of the word that which is merely figurative. For this, the names of Antonio Tebaldeo, of Ferrara, and Serafino de' Ciminelli dall' Aquila have come down to us with sorry fame. The first was a litterateur dear to the Este family, to Gonzaga, and to Leo X. The second was a wandering singer, expert in music and improvisation, who traversed all Italy in triumph, applauded by the people and caressed by princes.

This *preziosità* was an exaggeration of arts already used by Petrarch, adopted and carried to excess from a mania for applause. Those who, not being professional poets, had no reason to yield to this mania, were care-

ful to avoid that grave defect, and even at the time of Tebaldeo and of Serafino followed the tradition of "Petrarchism immune from conceits." They are cold and feeble, however, with the exception of Boiardo, whose songs are marked by richness of imagination and freshness of inspiration. He and Benedetto Gareth, called *Il Cariteo,* (1450?-1514), a native of Barcelona, but living in Naples, where he succeeded Pontano as Secretary of State, are the only writers of love-lyrics of the end of the fifteenth century that deserve to be read; as the only burlesque writer of that age really praiseworthy is Il Pistoia. Il Cariteo began like Serafino—rather was a model to Serafino in the *strambotti*—but afterward changed his standards of art. In his work, together with subtleties and artifices are classic imitations, signally faithful, and beautiful pictures of scenery, inspired by the Neapolitan marine. Il Pistoia—that is, Antonio Cammelli, of Pistoia (1440?-1502)—who served the Este in a humble office and afterward was obliged to wander from court to court—wrote innumerable sonnets, jocose and satirical, and political, and developed the *terni fizzi* of Italian burlesque poetry with a spontaneous vivacity that makes of him the most conspicuous precursor of Berni.

CHAPTER V

THE LAST STAGE OF THE RENAISSANCE

IN the period extending from the descent of Charles VIII (1494) to the sack of Rome (1527) and the end of the siege of Florence (1530), the work of the Renaissance finished its development, both in thought and in art. On the one side, the critical and empirical tendency of Italian minds, already exercised

in public life, gives place to the new science of state, and has its highest expression in Machiavelli; on the other hand, the artistic tendency, which we have seen making Italians into a brotherhood in admiration of classic antiquity and cultivation of its forms, gives place to the formation of the poetic style, and has its climax in the *Orlando Furioso,* where is found all of most exquisite that the art of the Renaissance could produce. Ludovico Ariosto is the supreme artist, as Machiavelli is the supreme statesman, of that great and unhappy age. The former, in Ferrara, city of knightly traditions rejuvenated amid illustrious classicism, takes for development the only material offered for Italian poetry, in the decadence of religion and morality, without inventing a well ordered plot, without rising to philosophic conceptions. The latter in Florence, the most modern and democratic of the Italian States, studies with profound objectivity the human reality, and mirrors in crystalline words the analytic or synthetic work of his thought. Amid the host of the Italians who took part in the literary movement of the great century, these two alone emerge like Dante's Farinata, *dalla cintola in su* ("from the girdle upward"), not by reason of events or historic necessity, but by force of genius.

Niccolò Machiavelli was born in Florence in 1469. His studies were not properly those of a humanist, nor was he able to gain real and extended culture; but he owed much to observation, and accustomed himself, from youth up, to reflection on historic events. In public life, to which he was called by the traditions of the family, he began in 1498 with an office more humble than its title would indicate—Florentine Secretary. He was one of the two secretaries of the Signoria, and presided at the second law-courts more in fact than by right. The first Chancelor was Marcello Virgilio Adriani, a humanist of the old order, from whom Machiavelli may perhaps have

drawn a little classic erudition and have been encouraged to the study of beautiful form with which he afterward enlivened the dry reasoning in his writings.

The first missions of Machiavelli, after his entrance into office, were to Catherine Sforza, Countess of Imola and Forlí, and to Louis XII of France. Afterward he was sent twice to Duke Valentino (Cæsar Borgia), and in a way assisted at the most astute acts of usurpation of that noble—learning and admiring. He then proposed the Borgian politics as an example to his feeble and shuffling republic; and in a *Descrizione del modo tenuto dal Duca nello ammazzare Vitellozzo Vitelli, Oliverotto da Fermo, ecc.* ("Description of the Method taken by the Duke in the Murder of," etc.), he related events he had witnessed, with fictions that prove him to have intended, not to write a historic account, but to demonstrate a theory, rising to it from examination of the facts. Valentino appears there, more than any other, as a model of the ardent and active prince to be ideally represented later by Machiavelli.

After the final ruin of the Borgia, in whom he had so trusted, Niccolò was returned to France; and then he was engaged on missions concerning the war in Pisa. About this time he wrote the *Decennale Primo,* ("The First Decennial"). This was in *terza rima,* the meter of historic and didactic, not popular poems, and was a juicy narrative of the events of the last decennium, containing, in fine, an intimation of the great idea of its author—the restoration of the communal militia. This idea, long cherished, he set himself to carry into effect when, at the return of a legation to Julius II, he had seen Florence saved from imminent peril by the valor of his captain, Antonio Giacomini Tebalducci. For three years Niccolò attended with ardor to the forming of the *Ordinanza Fiorentina.* The *Nove della Milizia* was instituted, and he was elected its secretary.

Again, in December, 1507, we find the great historian in a distant land, this time in Germany, at the court of Maximilian I, where he was able to make important observations of the Swiss and the Germans. In the *Report of Affairs of the Magna,* and in the *Sketch of German Affairs*—which, with many inaccuracies, contain acute intuitions—he shows that he discerned quite clearly the cause of the political weakness of Germany. In the taking of Pisa, and in a mission at Venetia confided to him afterward, he gave proof of practical sagacity, finding time amid his activities to write a "Second Decennial" —not so able as the first. Thence he was sent, in 1510, to Blois, to the court of Louis XII again; and this time the fruit of his embassy beyond the mountains was a brief *Sketch of the Affairs of France,* rich in exact observations on the political constitution and the usages of the country. After new journeys and labors, Machiavelli was reduced to a time of forced leisure. He had in vain redoubled his ardor for organizing defenses for Florence, in face of the menaces of Spain. The militia gathered at Prato could not resist the attack of soldiers trained to war; the Gonfaloniere Soderini was obliged to retire, and the Medici returned to power. Niccolò, who had been loyal to Soderini to the last, was deprived of office, confined for a year within the territory of the Republic, and forbidden to be seen in the palace or even in the city.

So ends for Machiavelli what he called his "long experience in modern affairs." Henceforth he will turn his attention to the lessons of history and with the light of his experience will apply all the power of his genius to calm reflection on historic events and political science.

Having lost the salary of his office, Machiavelli was obliged to retire with his numerous family to a little villa near St. Casciano. His life there is described in a letter written December 10, 1513, to Francesco Vettori.

"After making myself a good-for-nothing," he says, "playing tric-trac all day in a tavern, I go back in the evening to my study, and turn to speak with the ancients and entertain myself with them as an equal to equals." From these nocturnal studies resulted *The Prince* and the *Discourses upon the First Ten Books of Titus Livius* —admirable prose, in which the author reduces to unity, in a full and consistent theory, the maxims suggested by experience, which were already scattered through his earlier writings.

The *Discourses* form a treatise in three books on political science. As he declares in the dedication, it was his design to discuss matters of state that he had observed and taken part in, or had read in books. Therefore, while he takes the material for his reasonings from Livy and sometimes from Polybius, he condenses into general propositions the observations made in the course of his diplomatic career, and illustrates them by examples from the history of Rome. Some of his propositions are worthy of a modern statesman; others are immoral and constitute the famous "Machiavellianism." To make great history the important thing is, that the State should be able to organize and conserve itself—the supreme necessity, before which, he maintains, religion and morality ought to retire from the field, nor can there be any question of good or bad, but solely of useful or injurious. In accordance with these principles, he speaks of honorable fraud and generous wickedness. His error consists in having gone into the field of theory beyond the limits of practical policy, making a too general application of principles and a too forced adaptation to every age of maxims drawn from Roman history.

None the less, this work reveals the full maturity of Machiavelli's genius. It anticipates the ideas and methods of our time in its study of historic and social events as natural phenomena, searching out their relations one

to another and the laws that govern them; and reasons upon them with serene calmness, in a style lucid, precise, without exaggeration and without floridity, sharply and clearly outlining the thought.

With the *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livius* is closely connected *The Prince* (1513). This famous work was written with a practical aim to instruct Giuliano de' Medici in the method for forming such a State as he desired. Giuliano died suddenly, and Machiavelli was obliged to dedicate the book instead to Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici, without reaping any advantage from it; but the aim affords an explanation of many things in the book. Giuliano, who, with the aid of Leo X, wished to form a principality for himself, in essential characteristics resembled Valentino, who, sustained by Alexander VI, had made himself master of the cities of Romagna. This is the reason that Borgia in *The Prince* serves to incarnate that conception of a founder and organizer of States upon which Machiavelli built his political edifice.

The Prince is a more organic work than the *Discourses*. In an effectively simple style the author explains the models necessary to constitute the principality; illustrates them with examples from contemporary history; defines the demeanor proper to the sovereign when he is installed in his place of authority. Unlike the political philosophers of the Middle Ages and the scholars of the Renaissance, Machiavelli does not ask for perfection in the prince. Above all things the prince must be astute and able; at need he should not hesitate to break his faith. From this and other immoral maxims contained in the work, we may perhaps find relief in the closing words overflowing with ideality and sentiment. There the author turns his thought to unhappy Italy, arena of foreigners, which, "without head and without organization," drops blood from its wounds and cries to God for a redeemer. "Oh, may the liberator appear! Who can

say with what love he would be received, with what thirst for vengeance, with what unyielding faith, with what devotion, with what tears!" True, this beautiful dream of the redemption of his country does not reflect precisely the constant trend of Machiavelli's thought; but it has inspired one of the most eloquent pages that Italian prose can boast.

Having profited nothing by *The Prince,* Niccolò was obliged to return to San Casciano. There he began an allegorical satire in *terza rima,* the *Asino d'Oro* ("Golden Ass"), in imitation of Plutarch's *Grillo* and with reminiscences of Dante. But he left it incomplete; his genius was not adapted to creations purely literary. He profited more by frequent visits at Florence in the *Orti Oricellari,* where, by his frank and acute interpretations of Roman history, he was cordially welcomed among scholars, admirers of antiquity and, at the same time, full of practical wisdom. His success there drew on him the attention of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici; and by invitation of that prelate he treated of the best method of reorganizing the government of the city in a *Discourse on the Reformation of the State of Florence,* which is a proof of his persistence in republican principles. Afterward the Cardinal sent him to Lucca, and this mission, which was quite modest, gave occasion for the writing of the *Life of Castruccio Castracani,* a politico-military romance, resembling the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon and the *Life of Agathocles* by Diodorus Siculus. In it the *condottiero* of Lucca appears ideally transfigured, as it were, representing the "new prince," the object of the author's affection.

There was a better result of the meetings of the Orti than this book, a dialogue supposed to have taken place there, in which the author's opinions are set forth and defended against the famous Captain Fabrizio Colonna; it is entitled *The Art of War.* Most noble is its leading

idea: that the citizens themselves should fight for the defense and the glory of their country; military art ought not to be a trade. The work has also a technical value and contains wise observations and original thoughts. As in his other writings he has attempted to formulate a science of statecraft, so in *The Art of War* he undertakes a science of strategy, in language worthy of modern tacticians. As is his custom, he brings together the practice of his time and lessons from the ancients. He draws from Livy, Cæsar, Polybius, above all from Vegetius and Frontinus, and, adding observations made in his travels, upon the Swiss and the *Lanzknechts* (pikemen, mercenary soldiers). What he says of chivalry seems as if written to-day. It is to be regretted that in his system of war, founded upon the Roman legion, he did not avoid a fatal error—the declaration of his want of faith in firearms.

In 1520 Machiavelli carried out an appropriate and well-rewarded work. The officials of the Studio of Florence, of whom Cardinal Giulio was chief, commissioned him to write the history of the city. Thus originated the *Istorie Fiorentine,* on which Machiavelli worked more assiduously after the Orti had been disbanded in consequence of a conspiracy against the Cardinal that had been formed in their meetings.

It is really history, and not chronicles. Machiavelli, while he continued the traditions of Bruni and of Poggio, did not design, like them, to produce a rhetorical work, a model of Latin eloquence, but rather to relate events in the idiom of the country, searching out hidden causes and keeping political measures always in sight. It is divided into eight books. The first book is an introduction intended to make clear the rise of the Italian potentates, reproducing as to facts the first ten books of Flavio Biondo. In the events, whose connection he studies and proves in a way before unknown, the author

seeks the evidence for the essential principles of his theory. In the second, third, and fourth books he gives the domestic history of Florence from the beginning to the return of Cosimo (1434), compiling successively from Villani, from Marchionne Stefani, and from Giovanni Cavalcanti, a careless and untrustworthy chronicler of the fifteenth century. The synthesis he makes of the political revolutions of the city is very felicitous; he is the first among his contemporary historians to seek the reasons for them and define their connection. Herein lies the chief value of the history; for, as to the matter, the author, having chosen the work he thinks best to follow through one of his books or a part of one, exhausts it as fully as he can without comparing it with others, without considering its value, often inserting ornamental details or changing a little by caprice. Thus in the last four books, treating of the affairs of the outer life of Florence, Machiavelli, speaking diffusely of the wars of Italy, has of set purpose exaggerated the bad faith of the soldiers of fortune and their military art, which he so much abhorred; for to him the bending of facts to the demonstration of a theory was a thing more than lawful. Of course this takes from the work its direct historic value. For the rest, it has other merits. Aside from the style, varied and lively, though a little unequal, the intuitions of genius and the exact interpretation of the inner significance of many events make it pleasant to read and profitable to reflect upon.

In his later years Machiavelli was constantly employed, but in affairs of little moment. When the Medici were driven out anew in 1527, he hoped to be recalled to the office of secretary, but in vain. The same year he died.

By the side of Machiavelli, the political literature of the Italians in the last stage of the Renaissance boasts Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540); he, too, was born in

Florence, and was educated in public life. He was of a family that had enjoyed all the honors; and as heir of the experience of his ancestors, he manifested from his youth practical wisdom and ambition to rise high in the State. He took a doctorship in law quite early, taught *Istituzioni* in the Florentine Studio, and acquired reputation as an able advocate. He also held office for a time. This, giving him opportunity to associate with statesmen, to seek out documents, and to become familiar with the character of parties, enabled him to write at twenty-six a *Storia Fiorentina,* from the Tumult of the Ciompi to the Re-acquisition of Pisa (1378-1509), which appears like the work of a mature man, by its limpidity, precision and impartiality, and by the profound observation of men revealed in its cold and quiet manner.

In 1512 Guicciardini was sent as ambassador to Spain. He describes every aspect of the country in an apposite *Relazione.* Later he held new offices in his own country, among them, in 1515, the *priorato,* priorship. In the following year Leo X entrusted to him the government of Modena, then that of Reggio, and at last of Parma also, with the title and authority of Commissary General. This government he held with a hand of iron, eluding the snares of numerous enemies and gaining honor for skill in factional warfare. Clement VII put his aptitude for administering government in the provinces into further requisition by choosing him as President of the Romagna, where he conducted himself with prudence and almost despotic obstinacy. In 1526 he was created Lieutenant-General of the Pontifical army; but the Holy Alliance was losing, the Medici were forced to leave Florence again, and after the fall of the Gonfaloniere Niccolò Capponi, Guicciardini had to retire to his villa of Finocchieto.

Here he gave himself to writing and reflection. Between 1524 and 1527 he had expressed his own opinion

concerning the form of government most fitting for the city, in a dialogue, *Del Reggimento di Firenze,* which is supposed to have taken place in 1494 immediately after the first expulsion of the Medici. It proposes a mixed government uniting the best features of monarchy, oligarchy and democracy. Guicciardini's tendencies were to the positive and practical; he was an enemy to theorizing; he disdained what did not appear to him really feasible, and he deemed it his duty to recall to reality any one under the illusion of a mere theory. Thus in his *Considerations* upon Machiavelli's *Discourses* he shows certain judgments of his friend to be too arbitrary, and his disregard of facts too one-sided; and that he had too much overlooked the essential difference between his age and that of the Romans.

These tendencies appear more clearly in the *Political and Civic Reminiscences,* written during his residence in the country. This series of ultra-fifteenth-century maxims, suggested to the author by his experience, reveals the political and moral spirit of the Italy of the sixteenth century; and when one considers how often the question of profit is placed before that of duty, how, according to Guicciardini, the wise man ought not to sacrifice his own advantage to great and lofty aims the possibility of whose attainment is doubtful, this helps us to understand why our country was at that time so great and yet so weak. Of course this does not detract from the value of the *Ricordi,* in which the results of an acute observer's experience of life and reflections upon it are condensed with vigor of thought and lucidity of expression.

With the end of the siege of Florence (1530) the political activity of Guicciardini was renewed. He then exerted himself to make the power of the Medici permanent, aiming, not only to recommend himself to the popular party, but to remove all pretexts for foreign in-

tervention. The next year he was in Bologna, Vice-Legate of the Pontiff; then, after the death of Clement VII, in Florence again. And here it is not pleasant to see him become the counselor and advocate in the defense of Duke Alexander. In 1535 the exiles in Naples complained to Charles V of the misfortunes of Florence and the oppression of the tyrant, begging for observance of the terms of the capitulation of 1530, that is, a free popular government. Guicciardini answered the accusation for the Medici very skilfully. By this, however, he acted only in accordance with his principles; for he held that it is useless and dangerous to attempt changes of government, and that the honest citizen ought to accept the existing state of affairs, without cherishing illusions, and should seek to change things for the better only by giving counsel to the authorities. Nor did he cease to favor in his heart the government by the few; for when Alessandro de' Medici was killed, two years later, he secured the succession to Cosimo, but tried to restrict his authority, even denying him the title of Duke. This only served to alienate from him the favor of the new master of Florence; and in consequence he withdrew to his villa of Arcetri, where he died in 1540.

Guicciardini's *History of Italy,* covering in its twenty books the period of the struggle between France and Spain and the triumph of Spain in our peninsula (1492-1534), is characteristic of his temperament. Observant of facts, direct, impartial, clear-sighted, he was disposed to say what he thought, without enthusiasm and without circumlocution, averse to theory and full of practical discernment. It is the first work that, going beyond the narrow circle of city events, includes the affairs of all the States in an ordered recital, perspicuous and well proportioned in its parts. Thanks to diligent study of the sources of history, the author has secured truth and accuracy; his facts are confirmed according

to modern standards; the dignity of ancient historians is obtained without descent into rhetoric. And it is not solely a recital of facts; it is also a historic commentary on the facts themselves. True, it abounds in detail, causing a prolixity that led Trajano Boccalini to imagine whimsically that a Spartan criminal, convicted of *lèse laconicism,* and sentenced to read Guicciardini's description of the war of Pisa, would prefer to be flayed alive. Moreover, the desire to present his complex observations in synthetic form induced Guicciardini to use long sentences heavy with gerundive and participial clauses. But yet the *History of Italy,* written in noble style and supplemented with copious notes, is the last and best development in the field of historiography of that critical and experimental spirit of the Italians of the Renaissance of which we have heretofore spoken.

Donato Giannotti should be mentioned with Machiavelli and Guicciardini. He succeeded the former in the office of secretary; he also wrote on politics, but was far inferior to his two great fellow-citizens. He has, above all, the merit of having critically studied past and existing systems of government. In his dialogue *Della Repubblica de' Veniziani* the institutions of the *Serenissima* are examined with care; in four books *Della Repubblica Fiorentina,* written soon after the end of the siege of Florence—for which Giannotti was banished—he criticises the various magistracies of his city, and describes an ideal form of government, modeled entirely on that of Venice, which, being mixed, seemed to him such as to satisfy the aspirations of every class and to hold every magistrate within the prescribed limits of his authority. Such a constitution he hoped to see adopted some time or other by his fellow-citizens; but, instead, he had to resign himself to live in exile, which he passed mainly at Rome or in Venetia; he died in 1573, more than eighty years of age.

These three political writers flourished in the first half of the sixteenth century; one may say that political science, clothed in artistic form, developed during the Renaissance in the most democratic of our cities, had reached the apogee of its splendor in the last years of the liberty of Florence.

During this period Italy shone in art no less than in political literature. Of this time are the masterpieces of Raphael and of Bramante, the paintings, sketches, and writings, fragmentary but varied and full of thought, of Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), who, besides being a famous and scientific painter, was a writer of most original prose, vivid in its descriptions, subtle in its witticisms, moderate and lucid always. Of this time, too, is the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto.

Ludovico Ariosto was born in 1474 in Reggio Emilia, where his father, Niccolò, a Ferrarese gentleman, was captain of the citadel. He studied, mostly in Ferrara, first law and then letters, and in youth wrote good Latin verses; but he could not become a perfect humanist, because, being orphaned in 1500, he had to attend to domestic affairs and enter the service of the Este family. He was chosen Captain of Canossa; thence in 1503 he passed into a place of trust in the following of the Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, and on account of that prelate, who cared little for letters, was obliged to betake himself with some hardship and danger to Bologna, to Mantua, to Milan, to Florence, and many times to Rome. He put on armor and took part in the war of 1510 against the Venetians.

But with these various tasks and travels he did not neglect his literary work, but continued to translate and imitate in order to form his taste and refine his own art. Then, in 1517, he freed himself from the annoyance of being constantly sent post through Italy; he refused to accompany the Cardinal into Hungary, and was dis-

missed. Then the Duke came to his relief, admitting him among his pensioners, as *camcriere o familiare* enabling him to stay in his own city and enjoy the tranquillity he needed for his work. Inspired by love for a Florentine widow, Alessandra Benucci, he wrote for her *canzoni,* sonnets and elegies.

Notwithstanding his desire for quiet on account of which the tranquil life attracted him more than the splendors of the courts of Ferrara, of Mantua and of Urbino, where he had been received with honor, Ariosto had to take up his travels once more when, in 1522, the ducal provision for him having been suspended, he was compelled to accept an office especially uncongenial to him, as he was naturally mild, and by reason of infirm health had grown old before his time. For more than three years he remained in Garfagnana as Commissary; there he had to contend with serious obstacles by reason of the factions and the banditti that infested the country; and his literary work was neglected. Finally he was allowed to return to Ferrara; and there he built a little house in the contrada Mirasole, where he lived with his wife, the Alessandra spoken of above, and was at liberty to indulge his thousand joyous fantasies, and carry to its completion the *Orlando Furioso.* This poem, partly written before 1507, was printed at Ferrara in 1516, and reprinted there with changes in 1521; it had already been for some time in the hands of the people. But the author, not satisfied, continued to revise it; and with several years more of work brought it to the form in which we have it. Enlarged, it was printed in Ferrara in October, 1532; and seven months later, June 6, 1533, Ariosto died.

Orlando Furioso is the most splendid creation in poetry of our Renaissance, assimilator and renovator. With it the epic of chivalry of Italy reaches its height, nor appears susceptible of further advance.

Ariosto took the material of Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato,* continuing the story with the same characters. But he changed the thread of the action to suit himself, and gave leading parts to Boiardo's secondary characters, as Ruggiero and Bradamant, whose marriage is closely connected with the political aim of the *Furioso,* that is, with the glorification of the House of Este, corresponding to the apotheosis of the House of Julius in the *Æneid.* Moreover, the chief characteristic of Ariosto's poem is the same as that of Boiardo's—the variety, by which we see passing across the scene a thousand fantastic creatures; as in a kaleidoscope a countless number of objects fair to see transform themselves before our eyes in many-colored figures. But this variety is accompanied by a certain unity of plan. The struggle of Christians with Mussulmans, the madness of Orlando —by which the catastrophe is delayed, as in the Iliad by the wrath of Achilles—and the loves of Ruggiero, are three paths which at once offer an entrance into the forest of romantic incidents. The marriage, which forms the denouement of the story, is not only foreshadowed in the course of the poem, but proceeds to accomplishment. There is also a center to the labyrinth of adventure—the two armies confronting each other, from and to which the Christian and Saracen knights go and return.

The poem begins with the flight of Angelica, Princess of Cathay, from the camp of Charlemagne, where she had been taken by Orlando, nephew of the Emperor and greatest of the paladins, who loved her ardently. Rinaldo and Ferrau, following her, engage in a combat; she flies while they are fighting. Sacripant of Circassia, another of her lovers, induces her to take him for a guide; but she is thrown from her saddle by Bradamant, sister of Rinaldo, who goes about in male attire to search for Ruggiero, the young Saracen prince, who is dear to her.

Bradamant, as modest as she is brave, and Angelica, a scorner of love amid her crowd of lovers, meet with many adventures. Angelica is taken from a boat by inhabitants of Ebuda, who are obliged to offer a woman every day to Proteus, and is about to be devoured by an orc, when Ruggiero arrives and saves her by dazzling the monster with an enchanted shield. He, unmindful of Bradamant, whose love, however, he returns, would have lost his heart like so many others to the capricious pagan, if she had not disappeared from him by means of a ring that rendered her invisible.

Meanwhile Orlando goes in search of Angelica far from the Christian camp; while in Paris, closed by siege, the champions of the faith are falling by thousands, and the Saracen Rodomont, forcing his way into the city, leads the massacre. In the neighborhood of Paris Angelica is finally overcome by love when she finds Medoro, an obscure soldier but young and beautiful. Orlando, becoming aware of this, goes mad, and, terrible even in his madness, throws into confusion the country through which he rushes unknown. But the Englishman Astolfo, after miraculous deeds of valor, by divine grace, ascends to the terrestrial paradise upon a hippogriph, learns from St. John the Evangelist of the madness of the hero, and in company with the saint goes to recover Orlando's mind from the moon. Thence having taken the phial that contains it, he returns to the earth. Orlando is thrown to the ground with great difficulty and bound; they make him breathe the contents of the phial, and he is saved. And so the Christian world is saved; for the paladin, healed of his insane passion, kills Agramant and Gradasso, the two most powerful Mussulmans, in a fight on the island of Lipadusa.

But the poem cannot stop there. Bradamant must marry Ruggiero, converted to Christianity, to found the family of Este. Upon a rock where he has been thrown

by shipwreck, Ruggiero consents to be baptized. Yet another impediment is to be removed—the opposition of the damsel's parents, who wish her to become a queen by marrying Leo, son of the Greek Emperor. Then Leo saves the life of Ruggiero, his rival; the latter, with equal generosity, conquers for him Bradamant, whom Charlemagne was to bestow as a prize of victory on the one that could vanquish her in a duel; finally Leo relinquishes the maiden when he learns the secret of his friend; and Ruggiero is made King of the Bulgarians, who in the march to Constantinople had led to the victory. At last, when the nuptials are about to be celebrated, the hero is challenged to mortal combat by the powerful Rodomont, who wishes to punish him for his apostasy; but Ruggiero conquers and kills him, securing, together with his own felicity, the triumph of the Christians.

Upon this plot are grafted innumerable episodes. The marvelous is introduced freely, and often used with force and subtlety, as in the description of the struggle of Orlando against the orc, and the account of the killing of the giant Orrilo. The many characters are well delineated and distinguished the one from the other. Among the women the two warriors, Bradamant and Marphisa, are most prominent. But there are not lacking women with the physical and mental fragility of the sex —more human, therefore artistically better: Olympia, loving with the ardor of self-sacrifice the unworthy Bireno, who has abandoned her on a desert island; Isabella, escaping from the violence of Rodomont, and by a stratagem procuring her own death at the hands of her bestial and credulous lover; Flordelice who, after lamenting the death of her Brandimart in one of the most affecting passages of the poem, has a cell built for herself in her husband's tomb, and shuts herself up in it, insatiable with weeping. Ariosto knew the human heart to its

depths, and represents it faithfully even in the midst of the most extravagant inventions. The madness, grandly epic, of the most valiant and magnanimous of his characters breaks out with titanic force after a succession of psychic emotions most faithfully represented.

Other characters attract our attention no less than the hero—Charlemagne and Rinaldo, Astolfo and Ruggiero. Charlemagne, whom Pulci burlesqued, recovers in the *Furioso* the dignity he had in the *Chanson de Roland;* he is again an exemplary monarch, and is faithfully obeyed. Rinaldo, the rebel paladin, no longer resists the will of his king in Ariosto's poem. Astolfo preserves much of the gay and reckless character attributed to him by tradition, but is ennobled by the prodigies he performs. And finally Ruggiero, archetype of the perfect knight, recalls Virgil's *pius Æneas,* to whom he is closely akin also by his part in the plot of the poem. As to the Saracen cavaliers—Agramant, Gradasso, Rodomont, Ferrau, Mandricardo, and others—Ariosto, in the Christian spirit of the Crusades, exhibits them in a bad light; Rodomont is a brute, comic at times, despite his leonine force; Mandricardo is a robber, perfidious and cruel.

Naturally, not all the interminable array of incidents and achievements that Ariosto recounts were originated in his own brain; he took from two classes of sources freely and often simultaneously—the romantic and the classic. Among the former, the poem of Boiardo and two voluminous French romances by Elia di Boron upon Guiron the courteous and upon Tristan *(Roman de Bret)* aided him most; more rarely he made use of the romance of Launcelot; and some ideas and incidents were drawn from the *Mambriano* of Francesco, the blind man of Ferrara—a feeble and prolix poem, written between 1490 and 1496, the best parts of which are the tales inserted here and there—and a Spanish romance circulated

among us quite largely in the sixteenth century, *Tirante el Blanco*. But he is much more indebted to classic antiquity, the *Æneid*, the *Thebaïd*, the *Metamorphoses*, and other works, with the Latin elegists and prose writers, with Horace, with Ovid, even with Manilius. Everyone knows, for example, that the episode of Cloridano and Medoro is taken from Virgil's of Euryalus and Nisus, and from a passage in Statius; that the procession of the shades of future Estes is imitated from that of the illustrious Romans in the *Æneid;* and that Alcina resembles Circe in the *Odyssey*.

Yet, in imitating, Ariosto retouched and remade, impressing the seal of his own genius on what he received from others, giving æsthetic value to what in his predecessors had been merely pleasing; in fine, transmuting, by the magic of art and style, the exotic Carolingian and Breton material into a work all Italian, classic. The classicism, shown in the title, corresponding to Seneca's tragedy, *Hercules Furens*, in the propositions and invocations, and in the close, where even to the words the *Æneid* is imitated, is the most eminent characteristic of the *Furioso*. The author wishes to approach Homer and Virgil; hence the greater seriousness of his poem compared with the preceding poems of the same class, not excluding the *Innamorato*. Therefore he contents himself with merriment a little malicious at times, but never scurrilous; he does not wish to parody the sentiment of chivalry, as does Cervantes in *Don Quixote;* on the contrary, it is dear to him. And, in the manner of the ancient epic poets, he narrates objectively, as if from the outside, aiming only to delight the sensitive reader's æsthetic taste; because art is with him an end unto itself. A wave of imagination, running through the *Furioso*, passes by us, tossing before the eyes of the fancy with iridescent changes of color and delightful harmonies of sound. Nor can it be said that the practice of

letting go one thread of the story to take up or retake another, causes annoyance to the reader, because the transitions are natural and subtle, and so multifold, akin, and necessary to the development of the story as to add to the harmony of the whole. Again, to the thousand fantasies and figures of the romantic world, intimately classic as he is in temperament and objective imagination, he gives plastic relief and clear outline. From the classics, too, he derives the exquisite mastery of style—that fluid spontaneity, not unaccompanied by the most chastened eloquence because it is the fruit of assiduous labor in revising and polishing.

Such a poem, admirable furthermore by its pure Tuscan, ductile and rich, and by the freedom and perfect construction of the octaves, superior even to Politian's, naturally was translated very soon into various idioms, taken as a model for numerous other poems, and imitated by noted foreigners. In the romantic epic Ariosto left far behind him both predecessors and imitators. For, if Boiardo had already carried to the last degree the natural and spontaneous development of this class of poetry, it is the praise of the author of the *Furioso* to have brought into that field the fruits of his studies of the great works of the classic world. By reason of this, his poem may be said to be an epitome of the Italian Renaissance, essentially artistic, as Dante's *Commedia* was the fullest expression of our Middle Ages, essentially psychologic. Ariosto is perhaps nearest to Dante among our writers for loftiness of genius, although they took diverse and almost opposite ways; for the one is the severe and reflective poet of ultramundane ideality, the other the gay and careless singer of the real world; the one inspired Michelangelo, the other was a model of style to Galileo.

While all Europe admired the *Furioso*, and our works of art educated the taste of foreigners, Italy continued to

receive inestimable benefits from the culture of its other cities. Venice and Rome were the literary centers of the civilized world.

In Venice art and learning joined hands, and, together with the masterpieces of a Carpaccio, a Giorgione, a Titian, revealed masterpieces of another kind from the ancient world. From the press of Aldus Manutius of Sermoneta were issued nearly all the Greek writers, in convenient form, with clear-cut lettering. The learned of all parts of Europe corresponded with Manutius, who was an able philologist; among his correspondents were Ariosto, Politian, and Erasmus of Rotterdam. The Academy of the Philhellenes—called Aldine from his name—boasted notable Greek scholars. Pietro Bembo, who when young had gone to Messina to study Greek under Constantine Lascaris, was among the coöperators and friends of Manutius.

At Rome Leo X, enamored of the Hellenic world, protected Aldus and confided to Giovanni Lascaris, greatest of the Byzantine scholars that came among us at that time, the instruction of the Greek youths lodged in a college opposite the Quirinal. But the Romans, though awake to the glories of Hellas, did not forget their own. The pontificate of Leo X was the heroic period of the contest in Rome between the partisans and the opponents of the Ciceronian style. A Frenchman from Belgium, Christophe Longueil (Longolius), gained at that time great reputation, increased by the dispute he held with a young Roman patrician, a jealous guardian of his country's dignity; and after he had become a perfect imitator of Cicero, he was a mark for the censure of those who, like the great Erasmus, favored a freer and more varied style. But they were few in Italy. Jacopo Sadoleto, of Modena, Pontifical Secretary, then Bishop of Carpentras and Cardinal, was an elegant Ciceronian Latinist; Lazzaro Bonamico, professor at Padua, pre-

ferred being a Ciceronian to being king or pope. The attention paid to rhetorical studies on Latinity diverted our humanists from philological work, which would otherwise have been fruitful.

Naturally this beginning favored the rise and growth of the Academies. The one in Rome, instituted in the previous century by Pomponio Leto, a Calabrian, who was a lecturer on eloquence in the Studio and an ardent admirer of classic antiquity, was revived and numbered noble minds among its members. At Florence the Platonic Academy had given place to the gatherings in the gardens of the Rucellai (Orti Oricellari). In Naples the Pontanian Academy kept up the classic tradition. All this was favorable to antiquarian investigation, and the Italians, their minds full of memories of Rome, began to search for statues, medallions, coins, and inscriptions. The nuclei of our museums and libraries date from that time; the Vatican was much enriched, thanks to its learned popes and munificent donors; the Marciana of Venice was moved to a more fitting site; the library gathered from the Medicean collections by the care of Leo X, placed in the cloister of San Lorenzo in Florence, became the Laurenzian. And our Universities, especially Padua and Bologna, drew to their halls famous teachers and thousands of pupils, even foreigners. Nor were the professorships of Italy sufficient for the many learned teachers. At the Sorbonne of Paris, and later at the College of France, instituted by Francis I, Italian professors instilled a love for classic antiquity and taught every branch of known science.

The progress of the study of classic languages and literature was attended by imitations in Latin, more extensive and in general better understood. In long poems, like that of Giambattista Spagnoli (Baptista Mantuanus), attempts were made to adapt a classic dress to Christian subjects. Sannazzaro, in *De partu Virginis*, aimed to en-

noble the Gospel account of the Incarnation by investing it with the purest forms of Greek and Roman art. The first example of the true Christian epic is the *Christias*, by Girolamo Vida (1490?-1566), of Cremona, apostolic prothonotary and afterward Bishop of Alba. In its six books he celebrates the entire work of Redemption, taking the material from the Evangelists and the form from Virgil. Without poetic inspiration Vida was elegant and accomplished. Aonio Paleario, of Veroli, deserves to be remembered with him for a philosophic poem in the manner of Lucretius, *De Immortalitate Animorum*. He is celebrated also for the tragic end to which he was brought by his religious ideas. Our writers of the sixteenth century had incredible facility in Latin poetry. In 1570 Adamo Fumano, of Verona, wrote a treatise on logic in Latin hexameters. Another Veronese, Doctor Girolamo Fracastoro, sang, with elegant conceits and in irreproachable Latin, of the origin and spread of an unclean contagion that broke out in Italy at the close of the fifteenth century, and of the remedies for it, in his *Syphilis*. Pier Angelo Manzolli, of La Stellata (Marcellus Palingenius), alone had an eye to matter rather than form in *Zodiacus vitæ* a long philosophic-didactic poem. He gave to his Latin the flexibility of a living tongue, and by this, as well as by allegorical symbolism, and certain heterodox opinions, he attained to great celebrity, especially outside of Italy.

But our Latinists of that time succeeded better in the simpler forms of poetry than in epics. Vida has some that are fine—*Scacchia Ludus*, on the game of chess, and *Bombycorum Libri Duo*, on the silk-worm. Lyric poetry was cultivated throughout Italy still more largely and felicitously. In this the favorite measures were the epigrammatic, adapted for use, often improvisations, in court society, and the elegiac, which, especially in such hands as Ariosto's or Sannazzaro's best served for the sincere

expression of amorous sentiment. Bembo seems elegant but cold in his songs. On the other hand, those of Berni have warmth and spontaneity. In the *Lusus* of Andrea Navagero, a Venetian, there is often simplicity and a bitter perfume. Some of the songs of Giovanni Cotta, of Legnano, are palpitating with passion. Surpassing all others in Latin lyric poetry is Marcantonio Flaminio, of Serravalle in the Trivigiano, author of eight books of songs, a man of fine genius and warm heart, universally loved and admired. His work has something of the Raphaelesque in design and color; the epitaphs on Jella (Hyella) a young girl who died of disappointed love, are among the tenderest things of the time. They may be classed with an exquisite domestic idyl of Fracastoro, a beautiful elegy of Castiglione, and with the *Aquarum Concentus* of Antonio Telesio of Cosenza, author of other poems inspired by family affection and love of nature.

This original poetic work in Latin of the first decade of the sixteenth century has real and great importance. For, while a myriad of its cultivators swarmed in Rome, the literary mart, in the shadow of the Papal Curia, and, as Flaminio says, the new Catulli, Horatii and Virgilii were multiplied in the rest of Italy, others beyond the Alps were inspired by our books and literati, and all Europe joined in the work of imitation.

But the scholars that versified in the ancient language no longer disdained the modern, as in the preceding century. One of the most distinguished, Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), recalled the Italians to the study of the language of Petrarch and Boccaccio. As an heir of Politian, he continued the union, favored by Politian, of Platonic humanism with vernacular literature. Bembo, a patrician of Venice, not only applied himself to spread the study and the love of Italian at Ferrara, Urbino, Rome and Padua, where he resided successively; not only gave a perfect example of the literary idiom in *Asolani* and

in the *Rime,* but developed his teachings upon the subject in an able treatise, the result of long reflection, *Prose della Volgar Lingua* (1525). The first two books of this dialogue contain a demonstration of the excellence of the Italian language, a brief history of its origin, and its literary annals, and intimations of the models to be followed in writing it. The third book, more extended, sets forth the rules of Italian grammar. The fundamental idea is that the language of the three great Florentines of the *trecento,* particularly Petrarch's, should be adopted as the standard.

The *Prose* became a standard, and it was followed by those who comprehended that a regular literary idiom must be established "out of the popular usage." Ariosto changed the language of his poem according to the forms given it in Bembo's book. In 1539 Bembo was made Cardinal, and when he died rumor had it that he was destined for the apostolic chair. Recommended by the authority of such a man, the Petrarchian idiom gathered into a whole the mingled forms of dialect elements in use through northern and central Italy, and established the linguistic course of the whole century. But there were also adherents of opposing opinions. Thus Baldassare Castiglione in his *Cortegiano* counseled writers to use "not pure antique Tuscan, but common Italian," which is heard from the mouths of "men noble and trained in courts." And Giangiorgio Trissino (1478-1550), a learned patrician of Vicenza, adopting the opinion of Dante, that our literary language should be the quintessence of Italian dialects, maintains in his dialogue, *Il Castellano,* the existence of a language "elect and illustrious" for use in writing—Italian, and not Tuscan. But contrary to that view, which is ably opposed by Machiavelli in a "Dialogue concerning Language," written language was unified in Italy as Bembo wished it to be, that is, in the mould of the Tuscan.

Orthography also, which had been uncertain and Latinized, gradually became uniform in the sixteenth century. The idea of reforming it came from Trissino, who thought to remove ambiguity in writing, most annoying to the non-Tuscans, by adopting some letters from the Greek alphabet. Naturally this proposal and others similar to it were not acceptable, rather were the signal for a grand battle upon the name to be given the vernacular. But Claudio Tolomei, of Siena, a man of fine linguistic sense, repudiating those means of phonetic representation, accepted the idea of renovating the orthography. He held that the signs no longer corresponding to sounds should be eliminated, and rightly proposed to write *vizio, lezione, ninfe,* etc., in place of *vitio, lettione, nimphe.* The dispute upon the name of the language was not in vain; from it came corroboration of the opinion of Bembo, the contending parties coming to an agreement with mutual concessions. For the Tuscans, who would have wished to impose the existing usage of the cultured in their province upon the literati of all Italy as their guide in writing, saved their *amour propre* in the adoption of the language of Petrarch and Boccaccio. On the other hand, the Italians of the other provinces did not abandon their prerogative by recognizing a common patrimony, a language in literary use, devoted for centuries to writing in works most admirable and familiar to every one.

The three great authors being thus established as standards of language, Italian grammar was easily settled. The lexicon, too, could be in process of establishment; our first dictionaries are largely destitute of scientific value. The unification of the written language was the best fruit of the humanistic culture, as of the thought and the art of the Renaissance were the writings of Machiavelli and the poem of Ariosto. Bembo, a humanist, was the standard-bearer; and the literary lan-

guage grew to unity, being modeled upon the masterpieces of *trecento* Tuscans, because they appeared to reflect in the best manner possible the features of the language of Latium.

CHAPTER VI

THE CLASSIC AGE OF ITALIAN LITERATURE

THE evolution of the Renaissance, after the marvels of art and thought of its latest years—about 1530 to 1560—gave rise to copious literary production according to the æsthetic standards and in the idiom fixed by the later humanists. The unity in classicism of form and in Italianity of language conduces, as Carducci observes, "to the ultimate perfecting of every anterior class of production yet living or vital."

In narrative poetry many followed—or, to speak more precisely, dragged along painfully—in the footsteps of Ariosto. The adventures of Orlando were re-sung from one end of Italy to the other; Ruggiero, Rinaldo and Marphisa and other of the characters of the *Furioso* each became the protagonist of similar poems; the imitation of Ariosto was even united with that of Dante; some, in fine, sought novelty in the fantastic and the bizarre. Even the *Angelica Innamorata* of Count Brusantini, of Ferrara, more successful than others, is a miserable production. The romance of chivalry, grown stupid and pretentious, was parodied, and deserved to be. The *Orlandino* of Pietro Aretino is a disgusting caricature; and beside the epics of cavaliers and paladins flourished burlesque narrative poetry in macaronic jargon.

Of the *poesia maccheronica* the first experiments in Italy

did not rise above the *Macaronea* of the Paduan Tifi Odasi (died in 1492). This poem aims to amuse, throwing in amid its barbarous Latin a number of Italian or rather Latinized dialect words. But it is often satiric also. Thus in the loose verses of the poem of *Odasi,* as well as in another, anonymous, which takes us into the midst of the student life of Padua, a merry company lives again for us, like that which in the fifteenth century gathered in Florence at the shop of Burchiello. Personal satire has a part in the works of the greatest among the *maccheronici,* Merlin Cocai. Teofilo Folengo, who used that pseudonym, was a Benedictine friar of Mantua; but he had studied at Bologna, and, following old student traditions, he laid the scene of his best poem, *Baldus,* amid the reckless gayeties of the students of that University. It is the epic of the macaronic jargon. Having read the *Furioso,* the author, who, in the first edition (1517) held himself in restraint, gave the action much greater fulness and used greater care in representing his characters. These are all comic degenerates from the types of the romances of chivalry. Fracasso is modeled on Morgante, and Cingar on Margutte. Baldo, the hero, is a mixture of heroism and knavery. In the twenty-five books of his poem, Folengo relates the exploits of this hero in city and country and in the imaginary world of romantic adventure, and succeeds in a felicitous parody of chivalric matter and Virgilian epic form. It is known that Rabelais took from *Baldus,* fictions, anecdotes, and tricks of style.

To Folengo we owe also a caricature of pastoral poetry, the *Zanitonella,* a book allegorico-symbolic, of mixed prose and verse, in Italian, Latin, and macaronic jargon, also the *Caos del Triperuno,* and two comico-heroic poems, *Moschaea,* singing in three books the victory of the ants over the flies, and *Orlandino* in *ottava rima,* essentially burlesque, but with many thrusts at the clergy. But the

comico-heroic poem, to be artistically developed in the next century, was now but just born. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the first steps were taken by seeking the comic in the monstrous, and to this were adapted the meter and movement of the epic of chivalry; the best example of it is the *Gigantea* of Girolamo Amelonghi, called the Hunchback of Pisa.

Over against the poems after the manner of Ariosto and the parodies, stands the serious epic in classic style, inaugurated by Trissino. This learned gentleman, an aristocrat in art as well, did not think it worth while to waste time on a work like the *Furioso,* designed only to please the unlearned. He therefore attempted to enrich the nation with a real epic on the classic model. In *The Deliverance of Italy from the Goths* he developed a plot unique and comprehensive, on the lines of Homer and according to the rules of Aristotle—the expulsion of the Ostrogoths from Italy by Belisarius. But he was deficient in imagination, inspiration, and that sentiment of the fitting which is indispensable to all poetry, most of all to the heroic. Further, he aimed to gain the applause of the erudite by minute description, as he himself says, of "armor, palaces, castrametation." Hence it follows that *The Deliverance of Italy* is most arid and heavy. Its dulness is increased by the measure, which is the blank verse without variety of pause and accent, and the language, feeble and uniform from the effort at dignity.

Trissino's poem, from which he expected great fame, soon fell into oblivion. The sixteenth-century epics nearly all followed in the way opened by Ariosto; and, like the singer of Orlando, Luigi Alamanni brought the romantic poem near to the type of the classic epic in *Girone il Cortese,* which is a paraphrase in octaves of the French romance in prose of the same name, and in *Avarchide,* so called from Avaricum, Bourges, the city where the scene is laid. This also is in octaves and re-

produces the plot and incidents of the *Iliad,* with changes only of names of places and characters. These poems, especially the second, follow the precepts of Aristotle and restore the knights of the Breton cycle to the perfection they had before Boiardo. The author aims at the dignity of the heroic epic; but without reaching it departs, prolix and monotonous, from the fascinating variety of the romances of chivalry.

But that variety characterizes the *Amadigi* of Bernardo Tasso (1493-1569), of Bergamo, father of the immortal Torquato. It is a free imitation of the Spanish romance *Amadis de Gaul,* which, for the novelty of the subject, the unity of action, the moral aim and the classic element abounding in it, was approved by our literati. Tasso first intended to write an epic poem after the manner of Trissino in blank verse, which, like the *Odyssey* and the *Æneid,* should contain "a perfect exploit of one man;" but afterward, convinced that only the kind of poetry raised to perfection by Ariosto could please his contemporaries, and placing pleasure much above usefulness as an object of epic poetry, he wrote a poem simply romantic, in *ottava rima,* where an excessive number of episodes are woven into the story of the enterprises of the hero, Amadis, with continuous luxuriance of imagination and style. Three plots proceed simultaneously in its hundred cantos—the loves of Amadis and Oriana, of Alidoro and Mirinda, and of Floridante and Filidora. The first was taken from the Spanish source; the other two were original, the last being mostly allegorical. Such multiplicity and exuberance of the marvelous made the *Amadis,* unlike Trissino's *Deliverance of Italy,* universally popular, though it is not free from verbose slovenliness of style, nor from typical abstractions in its characters.

With similar designs, Giambattista Giraldi took a way somewhat diverse. He set forth his theories in a *Dis-*

course on the Composing of Romances (1554). He was of opinion that in poetic narrative one should follow in the steps of Boiardo and Ariosto, but with a moral aim and in a style of heroic dignity. He cited the *Furioso* as a model for those undertaking to sing many actions of many personages, a class of epic unknown to the ancients, but justified by the authority of famous modern authors; but he judged that the epics of the Greeks and Latins should be followed by a poem narrating a single action of one man, not following the example of those who, without daring "to put a foot outside the footprints of others," wished "to include all the writers of romances under the laws of art given us by Aristotle and by Horace, not considering that neither of them knew this language and this class of composition." For his part, Giraldi took a middle course, choosing in his *Hercules* as a subject "many actions of one hero"; and, in accordance with his idea of a moral aim, transmuting the strongest of the demigods into a perfect knight, and introducing into the myths incidents purely romantic. He succeeded only in making a hodge-podge in slovenly octaves. The same may be said of the *Costante,* by Francesco Bolognetti, upon the enterprises of the ancestor of Constantine, where the same standards are followed, except that he makes use of history instead of mythology. But, though Trissino failed in his attempt to bring the classic epic back to life, this very departure inaugurated by Giraldi, aiming to adapt epic regularity to the romance of chivalry, gathering the scattered threads around one event or one character, was carried out in the great Italian heroic poem, *Gerusalemme liberata* ("Jerusalem Delivered").

As Ariosto gave the law for the epic to the Italians of the sixteenth century, so Petrarch for the lyric; and though he never had been neglected as a model for imi-

tators, they turned to him with renewed ardor after the example of Bembo.

Pietro Bembo had begun life as a court poet, writing *strambotti* for illustrious ladies, sonnets on trivial subjects, jests for the entertainment of society, verses designed to celebrate the carnival at court. But after 1513 —that is, after he was chosen Pontifical Secretary and was in receipt of a good income—he changed his standards and aims in art, together with his mode of life. Far from the frivolous and gallant society which he no longer had need to please, he abandoned the court poetry in which he had aped the improvisatori dear to the people, and, aiming solely to make his own the exquisite form of Petrarch's lyric, employed himself in patiently polishing his verses, which he deemed the more perfect as they approached more nearly to those of the poet whom, as we have seen, he proposed as a model in language.

The reformation effected in lyric poetry by this man of high authority had extraordinary success. Great numbers followed in his steps; so throughout Italy *canzonieri* were written in the purest literary idiom, with most correct Petrarchism, in the measures consecrated by the example of the bard of Laura. Improvised novelty was no longer sought, but careful polish, elegance laboriously acquired. The distinction between the poetry of the people and the poetry of art, which had grown far too slight in the preceding century, was now reëstablished. The populace still had their poets, some of whom deserve mention, as Giovanni Battista Verini, of Florence, and Baldassarre Olimpo, of the Alessandri of Sassoferrato; but cultured men who wrote verses as a literary exercise or a pastime, took the way indicated by the dictator of sane literary taste. In Venice, Bembo's country, there were naturally the most ardent "Bembists;" nevertheless the mania for Petrarchism extended

throughout Italy. And, since it is much easier to follow a model than to evolve from one's own brain, and the ambition to pass as a litterateur may be a stimulus to verse-writing no less powerful than the hope of lucre, the horde of poetasters increased beyond measure in every class and quality of society. They had the "receipt" of poetry from Petrarch; they compiled *centoni* of verses after the great *trecentist;* the *canzoniere* was spiritualized; to the rhymes on the life and death of Madonna Laura, corresponded harmonies in the name of the Madonna herself; and the expositions, the comments, and the academic lectures on one or another of the poems were multiplied.

This lyric poetry was all, from first to last, an affectation. Men who in real life loved quite differently, assumed in their poetry the attitude of the purest Platonism; hence a coldness and consequent monotony, atoned for neither by the elegance of the style, nor by the melody of the verse. The artificiality is often apparent; for the false in art is not only cold but forced. Thus Angelo di Costanzo, a Neapolitan, adopted in part the manner of Cariteo, but with more elegance; his epigrammatic sonnets were found charming by the Arcadians. Bernardina Rota, another Neapolitan, is hyperbolic and inflated, except in the verses in memory of his wife. Not altogether free from the same faults was another Southerner, Luigi Tansillo of Venosa (1510-1568). Yet, as he had to leave his studies at an early age and take part in military operations and sea-voyages as a gentleman of the guard of honor of the Viceroy of Naples, he could not acquire too much learning nor clip the wings of his genius; but, instead took his inspiration from the varied events of which he was a part, and listened to the voices of Nature, the mother of enthusiasm. His eclogue *The Two Pilgrims,* is still a school exercise; but in the immoral poem *Il Vendemmiatore* ("The Vintager"), published

in 1532, is perceived the poet of facile and fluent talent. Later, during his wandering life, he gave greater evidence of the sincerity and spontaneity of his art in verses where, amid the commonplaces of Petrarchian imitation, are found fresh and original descriptions, accents of passion, poetic flashes of Platonism.

Still another Southerner, Galeazzo di Tarsia, born in Naples of a noble family of Cosenza, deserves praise as a lyrist. He, like Tansillo, was a soldier as well as poet; he died young in 1553. Together with some rhymes in the manner of Petrarch, mostly in praise of Vittoria Colonna, he has three sonnets of real inspiration on the death of his wife. Others attempted novelty in other ways. Thus Giovanni della Casa enveloped his thought, almost always tenuous or fine-spun, in a mantle of pomposity, breaking the syntactical connection within his lines and carrying it on from one line to another, and giving them a dignified movement and sonorous redundancy.

Claudio Tolomei and his followers added new metrical forms adapted from classic meters. In *Rules of the New Tuscan Poetry* (1539) Tolomei labors fruitlessly to establish for our prosody norms analogous to those of the Latins. With better success Trissino introduced the use of *verso sciolto,* or blank verse, a form that seems fitting especially for versions of Greek and Latin poems. The translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by Giovanni Andrea Dell' Anguillara, of Sutri, is in octaves; but the famous version of the *Æneid* made by Annibal Caro in the last years of his life, in which he shows, as he purposed to do, the strength and richness of our language, is in blank verse. Bernardo Tasso, too, was felicitous, not only in the odes in short strophes of hendecasyllables and septenaries, which he composed in imitation of Horace, but in the *selve* (poetic miscellanies) of hendecasyllables freely rhymed here and there, and in his ele-

gnomics of the fourteenth century; Berni and the Bernisto, of whom we shall speak, to Pucci, Burchiello and Pistoia. Classic satire, however, received much of its material from a poetic patrimony of which a part borders on jocose poetry.

Such material is not very rich or varied. The devastation of Italian lands by foreigners inspired feeble lamentations in Tansillo and Ercole Bentivoglio (died in 1573), a patrician of Bologna; but it would be vain to seek in the satires of the sixteenth century for important allusions to the condition of oppressed Italians. The best in it refers to the papacy. Thus in the verses where Ariosto represents the nepotism and the extortions of Alexander VI, runs a murmur of indignation; on the other hand, the description that Caporali gives of the golden pontificate of Leo X is pleasant and witty. Berni, prince of burlesque writers and at the same time vigorous satirist, expresses effectively the wrath and grief of the Italians at the raising of Adrian VI, a foreigner, to the Papal chair. The satire of the century turns oftener upon two other themes. The corruption of the cloister, as it was the subject for banter in burlesque poetry, in novels, in popular satire, lyric and dramatic, so in cultured satire it gave occasion to frequent hints and direct thrusts. Likewise woman, who by the writers of that age was more and more cast down from the pedestal upon which the Platonism of lyric poetry had placed her as a goddess, had to take her seat upon the stool of the culprit before the tribunal of satire. All that our satirists of the sixteenth century wrote about women was derived from the misogynic sixth satire of Juvenal, either directly or through the satire of Ariosto upon the choice of a wife.

Despite this poverty of content, the satire of the great century was liked outside of Italy and had imitators in France and England; in France, rather, it was directly

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Claudio Tolomei and his followers added new metrical forms adapted from classic meters. In *Rules of the New Tuscan Poetry* (1539) Tolomei labors fruitlessly to establish for our prosody norms analogous to those of the Latins. With better success Trissino introduced the use of *verso sciolto,* or blank verse, a form that seems fitting especially for versions of Greek and Latin poems. The translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by Giovanni Andrea Dell' Anguillara, of Sutri, is in octaves; but the famous version of the *Æneid* made by Annibal Caro in the last years of his life, in which he shows, as he purposed to do, the strength and richness of our language, is in blank verse. Bernardo Tasso, too, was felicitous, not only in the odes in short strophes of hendecasyllables and septenaries, which he composed in imitation of Horace, but in the *selve* (poetic miscellanies) of hendecasyllables freely rhymed here and there, and in his ele-

gnomics of the fourteenth century; Berni and the Bernisto, of whom we shall speak, to Pucci, Burchiello and Pistoia. Classic satire, however, received much of its material from a poetic patrimony of which a part borders on jocose poetry.

Such material is not very rich or varied. The devastation of Italian lands by foreigners inspired feeble lamentations in Tansillo and Ercole Bentivoglio (died in 1573), a patrician of Bologna; but it would be vain to seek in the satires of the sixteenth century for important allusions to the condition of oppressed Italians. The best in it refers to the papacy. Thus in the verses where Ariosto represents the nepotism and the extortions of Alexander VI, runs a murmur of indignation; on the other hand, the description that Caporali gives of the golden pontificate of Leo X is pleasant and witty. Berni, prince of burlesque writers and at the same time vigorous satirist, expresses effectively the wrath and grief of the Italians at the raising of Adrian VI, a foreigner, to the Papal chair. The satire of the century turns oftener upon two other themes. The corruption of the cloister, as it was the subject for banter in burlesque poetry, in novels, in popular satire, lyric and dramatic, so in cultured satire it gave occasion to frequent hints and direct thrusts. Likewise woman, who by the writers of that age was more and more cast down from the pedestal upon which the Platonism of lyric poetry had placed her as a goddess, had to take her seat upon the stool of the culprit before the tribunal of satire. All that our satirists of the sixteenth century wrote about women was derived from the misogynic sixth satire of Juvenal, either directly or through the satire of Ariosto upon the choice of a wife.

Despite this poverty of content, the satire of the great century was liked outside of Italy and had imitators in France and England; in France, rather, it was directly

appropriated by Jean Vauquelin. In fact, it cannot be said to be destitute of artistic value. Ariosto, who in the *Furioso* has passages of *vis comica* in the manner of Aristophanes, keeps in his satires the sportiveness that is so fascinating in the epic, while giving to the verse a character of greater gravity, and using, instead of the flexible *ottava,* the *terza rima,* as more appropriate to this style of composition. They are, indeed, better than satires; they are intimate epistolary confidences, made up of little incidents, while they open a window into the poet's inner life, and bring before us the times and the customs amid which he lived.

Pietro Nelli, a subtle Sienese, in his *Satire alla carlona* ("Random Satires"), shows himself an heir to the popular satire and to the mordant *fabliaux,* in that he lashes the minor clergy, and penetrates to the secrets of the cloister. Cesare Caporali, of Perugia, who flourished in the second half of the century, re-clothed in graceful style the satire of fable and fantasy in some verses in tercets—*Il viaggio di Parnaso* ("The Parnassian Journey), *Gli avvisi di Parnaso* ("The News from Parnassus"), *Le osequie di Mecenate, La vita di Mecenate, Gli Orti di Mecenate* ("The Obsequies, Life, Gardens of Mæcenas").

Tansillo, in his *Capitoli,* also in *terza rima,* sometimes approaches the style of Ariosto's satires, sometimes the spirit and manner of Berni. Choosing the best of the satire of his time, he gives a garb of graceful merriment to the subjects of burlesque. Lastly, Ludovico Paterno, of Naples, wrote satires in octaves and in blank verse, in which the art is mediocre, the sentiment sincere.

More important than the satiric is the burlesque poetry. Among its writers Berni was, in his class, a true poet.

Francesco Berni (1497 or 8-1535) was born at Lamporecchio, in Val di Nievole, of a Florentine family. He was brought up and educated in Florence, and hence is

to be regarded as legitimate heir to the traditions of Pucci and Burchiello. In his version of Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato,* written with the design of rendering the form Tuscan and the matter more edifying, he lets us know that he went to Rome at nineteen; that there he was successively in the service of Cardinal Bibbiena, his kinsman, of the prothonotary Angelo Dovizi, of the papal datary Matteo Giberti, and of Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici; and that he enlivened the joyous leisure of the prelate with his jests. The *Capitolo,* in *terza rima,* was then in use for erotic poetry. Berni turned it into burlesque, celebrating the nonsensical and the low, his agile mind finding matter for mock praise in whatever appealed least to the sense of the beautiful or praiseworthy. Moreover, the greater part of his *Capitoli* is marred by blemishes of obscene *double-entendre.* There is less of this taint in those directed to friends, which have the familiar tone of Horatian epistles, and a *ternario* to Fracastoro is free from it. In this he takes up an old theme, the description of a ruinous and filthy house, and turns it over with new variations, in a style now epic and now elegiac, but always unspeakably grotesque. This and other subjects familiar in our comic poetry, already given artistic dress by Pistoia, are treated with great skill by Berni. He had much greater dexterity in parody than the parodists of the fifteenth century; for an idea of his manner, one may read that famous sonnet on the beauty of the beloved lady, where he ridicules the traditional type of feminine beauty, spoiled by the hands of so many clumsy Petrarchists. Berni was vigorous in invective; his sonnets, often *codati* ("in series"), castigate the scoundrelism and the overbearing demeanor of the gentry most fiercely.

Anton Francesco Grazzini, called *Il Lasca,* of whom we shall have to speak again, was an admirer and imitator of Berni. Novelty of thought seldom appears in

the farrago of his rhymes, but the wholesome wit of our older writers is in them, and the author lives in them as he was. Lasca belonged to the Academy of the "Umidi," the *tornatella* of jovial friends who from 1540 had met in a dwelling. When they formed themselves into a solemn assembly of literati as the Florentine Academy, he found himself excluded, and he then attacked the Academy with malicious sarcasm. Turning the Bernesque form into literary satire, he impressed upon it the seal of his own genius; his originality comes out in this, not in certain careless metrical novelties, as the *madrigaloni* and the *madrigalesse.* Besides the *maledici* sonnets, he wrote a great number of quite spirited *stanze* and some carnival songs, which are among the best of a collection from authors of various times which he compiled and published.

The sonnet *maledico,* employed felicitously by Lasca, and by Alfonso de' Pazzi and others, was a form rendered flexible by long use. In Rome, where Berni's *Capitoli* had such success, it was in favor for a time as a medium especially for anonymous anti-papal invective. The pasquinade, which at a certain time assumed importance there and the character of a class of literature, had for the most part this form. It is true that at first only Latin verses were hung on the torso of Master Pasquino—the remains of an ancient statue to which was given the name of a teacher living opposite to it at the corner of the Orsini palace in accordance with a classic custom revived by the scholars of the Renaissance; and they were foolish discourses of academicians or labored efforts of students. But very soon the torso was allowed such freedom in language that all the literary utterances of Roman malice were gathered at his pedestal. To the classic epigram, in a language understood by few, were soon added the sonnet filled with secret allusions in the manner of Burchiello and Pistoia. The satires

were written in the name of Pasquino, making him the principal interlocutor in an imaginary dialogue. The true pasquinades began at the opening of the pontificate of Leo X, and the most notable examples appeared during the conclave at the election of Adrian VI, and were the work of Pietro Aretino.

With the burlesque poetry attempted by great numbers, the pastoral, introduced by Lorenzo and Pulci, continued to be cultivated in the sixteenth century. Berni, to whom *Nencia* and *Beca* were not unknown, produced octaves on country life. In *Catrina* he gave dramatic form to the rhymed narrative in octaves, offering a fresh and vivacious reproduction of scenes from rural life. Of more importance is another class of verse, which flourished abundantly in that century—that in which the expression of personal sentiment is interwoven with accounts of military enterprises, descriptions of idyllic scenes, myths, praises of illustrious personages. First among these are the octaves upon the portrait of Giulia Gonzaga and the *Ninfa tiberina* ("Nymph of the Tiber") by Francesco Maria Molza, of Modena (1489-1544). In the latter, recalling in many characteristics the stanzas of Lorenzo de' Medici and Politian, the author, following the way opened by those two Florentines, has kept the spontaneous vivacity given to the classic idyl by Lorenzo, and at the same time has added the perfection of style and diction that every form of art received in the hands of our *cinquecentoists.* Not less admirable is the *Clorida* of Tansillo, a lyrico-descriptive poem with some reminiscences of Sannazzaro and some imitations of Ovid. A series of quatrains in it, of idyllic freshness, in flexible octave lines, makes the splendid Riviera with the tomb of Virgil flash before our eyes in seeming reality. The *Stanze a Bernardino Martirano,* by the same author, merit honorable mention by their variety of content and movement, by their uniform and polished delicacy of style.

The mythological stories written by Alamanni, Bernardo Tasso, Parabosco and others, in blank verse, should not be passed over. Narratives like these preluded the famous *Adone* of Marino.

The monotony of the lyric poetry of the time was relieved not only by the poems just mentioned, but by work on historical or political subjects. Among the verses of Galeazzo di Tarsia is a sonnet much admired by Foscolo, and in truth among the most beautiful of the sixteenth century—*Già corsi l'Alpi gelide e canute*—in which the poet hails Italy as he comes home from beyond the Alps. Some note of emotion is sounded wherever the political situation is touched, even in *canzonieri* that are mediocre or distinctly poor. Fresh and robust *ballate* were sometimes heard from the exulting populace on account of some fortunate stroke in war. But there is more straw than grain in the poetic mass gathered by Marin Sanudo upon the political events affecting Venice from 1494 to 1527. He was a patrician of that city, and left in addition many vigorous and valuable volumes of *Diarii* and other historic works. No better are the rhymes of the same class which were collected to form the twenty cantos of *Delle guerre orrende d'Italia,* the twenty-six of the *Successi Sellici* of Niccolò degli Agostini. Only a Petrarchist, master of language and style, can express elegantly, if not vigorously, what he feels for his country —like Veronica da Gambara, Michelangelo, Domenico Venier, and, better than these and than all others, Giovanni Guidiccioni (1500-1541), a prelate of Lucca. In a few fine sonnets he contrasts the ancient grandeur with the existing ignominy of Italy.

Notwithstanding its defects, the lyric poetry of Italy in the *cinquecento* had patrons and imitators in other countries.

In the time of Francis I a few Italian versifiers crossed the mountains and were kindly received at his court. Chief

among them was Luigi Alamanni, a Florentine (1495-1556). This cultured and elegant gentleman, having taken part in 1522 in a conspiracy against Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, was compelled to leave Florence, and repaired first to Venice, then to Switzerland, then to France. He was able to return when in 1527 the Medici were again driven out; but after their restoration, which followed the memorable siege, he was sent to Provence, and in 1532, for having gone elsewhere, was declared a rebel. From that time he devoted his pen to the service of the King of France, whose munificence is always present in his songs, sonnets, elegies, eclogues, and mythological fables in verse. His patron gave him a country retreat between the Durance and the Arc, where for several months each year he wrote lyrics and poems. *Cultivazione,* six books of instruction in blank verse on fields and gardens, was written in his winter home. He was employed in embassies by Francis I and Henry II, and Catherine de' Medici, when she became queen, chose him for her majordomo.

It is undeniable that Alamanni contributed to the spread of *Italiencsimo* in France. To this end our books coöperated; they were read and prized in polite society and at court, and the French poets of the time of King Francis were much indebted to Italian versifiers. Not a few imitations of Italian work are met with in Pierre Ronsard, leader of the famous *Pléiade,* and in others, his contemporaries. Philippe Desportes, in the time of Henry III, appropriated directly very many sonnets of our sixteenth-century writers, his poems being hardly more than translations. French poetry did not, of course, gain much of thought and feeling from these borrowings; but in the matter of language and style we conferred upon it inestimable benefits.

In Spain, Juan Boscan, influenced in 1526 by Navagero, ambassador to Charles V, transplanted into the

poetry of his nation our meters and poetic forms. Advancing beyond him in the same time, Garcilaso de la Vega, who had been long among us, derived from the Italians the flower of his art, his most admired inspirations. The same may be said for Portugal of Francesco de Sá y Miranda, the first of the classic Lusitanians. England, where others had carried from Italy the elegance of Petrarch and the subtlety of Serafino dell' Aquila, had its own Petrarch in Sir Philip Sidney.

Dramatic literature was not less abundantly produced in this century than lyric; for it there was a limited number of models, universally held to be most perfect.

The most ancient Italian tragedy is the *Panfila* of Pistoia (1499), an unhappy attempt to write Italian tragedy after the manner of Seneca, using the plot of a novel of the *Decameron* and the measure of the *Commedia,* and transforming the choruses into *barzellete.* From the year when this was written up to 1515, we know of no other tragedies in the vernacular in imitation of the classic; for recasts of Politian's *Orfeo* and of *Sofonisba,* by Galeotto del Carretto (1502), cannot be called classic imitations. Scholars at this time gave their attention to the study of the Greek tragedians before whose work that of Seneca, so much admired before, grew pale. Some of them wrote dramas in Latin. The unlearned tried to follow in their own idiom the fading and uncertain traditions of the mediæval secular stage; and so arose grotesque scenic compositions and narrative dramas on historic subjects, like the *Lautrec* of Francesco Mantovano (1523), intended for recital before the people upon a temporary stage by one or more performers.

The first regular Italian tragedy dates from 1515 and was written under Greek influence at Rome, the center of the revived classic culture, by a gentleman who in every class of literature held to the most strict classicism, Giangiorgio Trissino. His *Sofonisba*—the subject taken

from the thirtieth book of Livy, sections 11-15—is well constructed but cold, verbose, and prosy; its importance is purely historical. In it Trissino pointed out the way to be taken in tragedy by putting in practice the canons of the Greek theater and observing the Aristotelian unities of time and action. The chorus intervenes, commenting on the dialogue; the author proposes to himself to move to "compassion and fear," giving delight to the listener "by diverse instructions." The meter is the hendecasyllabic, akin to the rhythm preferred in the Greek and Latin tragedies, free from rhyme "because discourse that moves compassion springs from grief, and grief utters impromptu words." The blank verse of Trissino in *Sofonisba* as well as in *The Deliverance of Italy from the Goths* sins by dulness and monotony; but the adoption of that meter for the drama was fortunate and it has remained the meter for Italian tragedy to this day.

After Trissino, other tragedians took care above all to give their plays the most irreproachable regularity according to the models and precepts of the Greeks, thus fettering the imagination and the emotions, and with heavy loss of scenic illusion and dramatic effect. In the same year with *Sofonisba* was written, also in Rome, *Rosmunda,* by Giovanni Rucellai (1475-1525), a Florentine and close friend of Trissino, from whom he received encouragement to undertake it and the prescribed form. In it the Lombard story of Rosmunda is united with the Greek story of Antigone, and the tragedy of Sophocles is in some passages literally translated. Moreover, events succeed one another and accumulate tumultuously, and the *pedestris sermo* of the Trissinian tragedy reappears, a result of the ill-comprehended study of Greek simplicity. It has the advantage over *Sofonisba* of purer Tuscan language and some gleams of poetry. The same may be said also of *Oreste* (1525),

by the same author, a free paraphrase of *Iphigenia in Tauris* by Euripides. The meters are like those of Trissino, blank verse and strophes of *canzone,* with some changes.

Alessandro Pazzi de' Medici, a fellow-citizen of Rucellai, and, like him, a nephew by his mother's side of Lorenzo de' Medici, rejected Trissino's meter, attempting to attain to Grecian simplicity by the use of a verse of his invention—twelve syllables, without fixed accent. But, to say nothing of his versions of ancient dramas, his *Dido in Carthage* is prose in symmetrical series of syllables. Ludovico Martelli, another Florentine, made a failure in *Tullia,* a forced application of the story of Electra in Sophocles to the wife of Tarquin the Proud. The *Antigone* of Alamanni, incomparably better, is only a version, with additions and trifling changes, of the tragedy of that name by Sophocles. The only Italian dramatist of this age that was productive and original in design was Giambattista Giraldi Cinzio, of Ferrara, already spoken of.

To Giraldi (1504-1573), learned professor at the Studio in Ferrara, we owe nine tragedies. The most celebrated among them is *Orbecche,* recited in 1541 in the house of the author by noted artists. In all, Giraldi, a scholar and critic, carried into effect the theory of the drama that he explains systematically in a discourse. He believed that the aim of tragedy should be to reform the customs of the time; therefore, while he praised the Greeks, he favored returning to the imitation of Seneca, moral *par excellence.* But his doctrines have also some of the modern spirit, whether by the objections he dared to offer to the famous unities, making use of the name of Aristotle himself, or because he held for a thing "more than certain" that the ancient poets, if they were to live again, would seek "to satisfy spectators of these times with new material." Consequently, he

has used purely imaginary themes in seven of his tragedies, and in some a double plot; in five the choruses are given in the interval between the acts, and are the lyric expression of the feelings excited by the plot in the consciousness of those assisting in its development. Further, more than one of the dramas has a happy ending, and in the *Antivalomeni,* ("The Exchange") the confusion of lovers gives it the character of comedy. Moreover, Giraldi's tragedies resemble in a way the romantic drama of our age. For, if historic color is lacking in them, and the characters are types, the author having considered only the generic nature of things and persons, in accordance with his purpose to instruct, yet his work has several features in common with our drama besides those already indicated: death on the stage, avoided by all dramatists before him; the large number of characters; the special care given to the representation of feminine types; the mingling of the horrible with the pathetic; and, finally, the style. It does honor to Giraldi that in the sixteenth century he should have enunciated the theory that "conversation on the stage should be in the style natural to the quality of the characters introduced."

But admirers and imitators were attracted, not by these ideas, but by the atrocities in some of Giraldi's tragedies, especially in *Orbecche;* in the last act of that tragedy the severed hands of Oronte, husband of Orbecche, and the bodies of his murdered children were shown upon the stage. Sperone Speroni, author of *Canace* (1546), added the further horror of incest, putting upon the stage the classic story of Canace and Macareus, making it the subject of a languid and affected tragedy, a tiresome series of conversations, narrations and moralizings, which was attacked with bitter censure, and was defended by the author with equal acrimony. Pietro Aretino took a middle way between trage-

dy and comedy in his *Orazia* (1546), as Giraldi did in more than one of his dramas. Representing the return to Rome of Horatius, conqueror of the Curiatii, he gave a partly tragic character to the plot, which has a happy ending. His drama, though not free from grave faults of style, avoids the horror and tiresomeness of the others, and is distinguished by the naturalness in which some emotions find in it their dramatic expression. Neither the tragedies of Dolce, nor the *Edippo* (1556) of Anguillara—a clumsy parody rather than imitation of the two tragedies of Sophocles, *King Œdipus* and *Œdipus at Colonus*—deserve to be placed by its side.

The fate of comedy in this age was better. Independent of the Latin dramatic works of the fifteenth century, it had its origin in the return of Plautus and Terence to the Italian stage. The *Menœchmi* of Plautus was recited at Ferrara in 1486, in the court of the ducal palace, in the presence of many thousand spectators. The next year and in 1491 the *Amphitryo* was presented; then other ancient comedies. They were not given in the original, which would not have been understood by those auditors, but in free translations, from which the transition was easy to comedies imitated from the classics. The leader in this transition was the most famous poet of the court of Este, Ariosto, with his *Cassaria* ("The Chest") and other comedies.

The *Cassaria,* acted in the great hall of the ducal palace, pleased the audience and seemed full of "such stratagems and deceptions and so many new incidents and such fine morality and various things, as were more than twice those in Terence." It has the type, the plot and the personages of the Roman comedy; it is a cheat practised by two scapegraces upon their parents and upon a go-between, by means of clever servants. Still, it has merits; the dialogue is lively, the tricks are spontaneous, the drawing of characters not unworthy of the

author of *Orlando Furioso.* These merits appear again, together with a nearer approach to modern standards, in the succeeding comedies of Ariosto, where the scene is laid in Ferrara, not, as in the first, in Greece. In the prologue to the *Suppositi* ("The Substitutes") produced in 1509, the poet says he took his material partly from the *Captivi* of Plautus and partly from Terence's *Eunuchus.* But he took from these and other classic comedies with discretion, not reproducing merely the plots of the Latin plays, but drawing here and there from our own sources, as the *Decameron.* Shakespeare, who may have read the *Suppositi* in the English translation issued in 1556, made use of it in *The Taming of the Shrew.*

Ariosto has drawn some types and conditions of his own city in the *Negromante* ("The Necromancer"), written in 1520, which is a comedy of plot approaching the comedy of character; the action revolves about the protagonist, a roving Jew devoted to medicine and magic. The same is true of *Lena* (1529), which is full of *vis comica,* of realistic passages, and pungent allusions to events taking place every day under the eyes of the people; and also in the *Scolastica,* a comedy left incomplete by Ariosto and finished by his brother Gabriel, which carries us into the midst of the student life of Ferrara. The last three are in eleven-syllabled, unrhymed lines. There are two versions each of the *Cassaria* and the *Suppositi,* one in prose, and the other, written later, in the same meter with the other three. We, to whom every form of rhythm seems ill-adapted for the representation of the comic aspects of life, prefer the prose versions; but it is well to notice that even in the comedies Ariosto has used verse worthy of his work. What a difference there is between the plain blank verse of *Sofonisba* and the *sdruccioli,* so much more difficult, of *Cassaria!*

Ariosto's comedies have indeed constant characteristics that are not fine, detracting from their verisimilitude and variety; but these are common to all the Italian comedy of that century. Jacopo Nardi, for example, wrote a play, *Amicizia* ("Friendship"), which was recited before the Signoria of Florence between 1503 and 1512. It was a dramatization of one of Boccaccio's novels (X, 8), and the greater part of the incidents were narrated, instead of being acted upon the stage. And Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena (1470-1520), a witty and genial man, had his play *Calandria* acted in 1513 at the court of Urbino, and in 1518 in his own rooms in the Vatican. It recalls the *Casina* of Plautus and takes its principal *motif* from the *Menæchmi* of the same author, turning upon the likeness between twins, the cause of odd misunderstandings. None the less, it exhibits customs and characters of the sixteenth century in Italy, faithfully depicted amid the ambiguities and imbroglios, the burden of which falls upon the stupid Calando, a near relative of Boccaccio's Calandrino. The indecency, an end unto itself, overflows in this comedy, becoming at times disgustingly infamous.

The same state of things exists in the *Mandràgola* ("Mandrake"), by Machiavelli, acted in Rome in 1520, though it has more diversity of color and design; the action progresses regularly; each character is true to its type; the dialogue, brisk and lively, makes use of the abundance of words, fine distinctions, and picturesque phrases of the Florentine idiom. Here the indecent jesting is not an end unto itself, but rather a medium for representing a society profoundly corrupt. Frà Timoteo, whose counsels and subterfuges drag a pure woman to adultery, seems a character that could not have been designed solely to arouse laughter; to exhibit the perverted consciences of certain religious of his time must have been Machiavelli's intention; and the fact that that

brother attends with fervor to certain stupid external observances of religion is not a sufficient reason to lead us to see in him a poor devil dragged by the hair into crime.

In *Mandràgola,* a comedy of intrigue and at the same time a picture of manners, the argument, novelistic in kind, is developed naturally; the characters are modern, with the real instincts and weaknesses of men; the style is original, robust, at times statuesque. Machiavelli's *Clizia,* imitated, and here and there translated from the *Casina* of Plautus, is of less value in respect of art; but historically it is important because the "honest example" that the author places before the spectators is that of a family that brings itself into disgrace at the insane passion of an old man, and the "fruit" which he wishes them to profit by consists in pointing out that love should be legitimate and pure. He completes in *Clizia* the expression of the conception of *Mandràgola,* which he wishes to continue and in one point to revoke (II, 3). *Mandràgola* depicts the injury that the shameless morals of the time worked to the family, especially by the interference in its affairs of ecclesiastics unworthy of their calling. *Clizia* points out the remedy in a temperate and sensible observance of religion taken for the guide to conduct, without the intrusion into the domestic sanctuary of evil-doers from without.

The *Clizia* was imitated in more than one feature by Donato Giannotti in the *Vecchio Amoroso* ("Old Man in Love") of the date 1536, which is one of the most notable comedies of the *cinquecento* by reason of its pure Florentine style and the felicitous presentation of scenes of domestic and civic life. With those comedies should be classed also one by Agostino Ricchi, of Lucca, presented ceremoniously in Bologna in 1530 for the coronation of Charles V. In *I Tre Tiranni* ("The Three Tyrants") the imitation of classic literature is quite free, the unity of

time is deliberately disregarded, and the author uses the *sciolto piano,* then new in comedy, seeking the naturalness of familiar speech.

The *Aridosia* (1536), by Lorenzino de' Medici, is a much more artistic work. It was played in Florence for the nuptials of Duke Alexander with Margaret of Austria. Though, as usual, it is not original, it takes much from life and the society of its time; on the other hand, among the imitations of Latin comedy, those in the *Aridosia* after the *Aulularia* and the *Mostellaria,* by Plautus and the *Adelphi* by Terence, are, without any doubt, among the best; and the type of miser, Aridosia, drawn by Lorenzino rivals the famous one of Plautus. If the Medici had not retained certain details of the ancient comedy (the recognition, the slave-trade, etc.), in too open contrast with changed customs, the *Aridosia,* in which the action progresses without disguise of intrigues, with sprightly dialogue and diction always correct and graceful, might be pleasing for representation in our day.

Sprightliness of dialogue and excellence of language are the best claim to praise of three other productive Florentine comedy-writers—D'Ambra, Lasca, and Cecchi. Francesco d'Ambra (1499-1558), member of the Florentine Academy, and in 1549 its president, wrote *Il Furto* ("The Theft"), a comedy in prose to be acted at the Academy, and afterward he wrote in hendecasyllabic the *Bernardi* and the *Cofanaria*; in these comedies he shows special skill in misunderstandings, cases of mistaken identity, and bizarre accidents. Lasca put upon the stage native tradition against the scholars loyal to the classics. In *Gelosia* ("Jealousy"), besides the episode of Ginevra di Scozia, after the manner of Ariosto, he had used the *Suppositi* and a novel of the *Decameron* (VIII, 7); the *Spiritata* ("The Possessed"), so called from a girl who, in order to have a husband to her mind, "pretends that a spirit has entered into her," is an imitation of Lorenzino's

Aridosia; in the *Strega* ("Sorceress") he had in view especially Ariosto's *Negromante;* and in others of his comedies the plots and character types were taken from Ariosto, Medici, and Bibbiena. Consequently, he approached the models of the *commedia romana* by an indirect route, and drew the life and manners of the sixteenth century better than others with their classicism —Varchi in the *Suocera* ("The Mother-in-Law"), Gelli in the *Sporta* ("The Basket") and in the *Errore* ("The Mistake"), Alamanni in the *Flora,* Firenzuola in the *Lucidi* ("The Transparent") and the *Trinuzia* ("Triple Marriage"), and Trissino in the *Simillimi.*

Giovan Maria Cecchi (1518-1587), a notary of mild disposition and of fertile invention, welcome alike to the crowd of the *cacciapensieri (sans souci)* and to the *frate,* and the monks whose claustral leisure he cheered, made up for his want of profundity by wit and a store of amusing fictions. In his varied comic productions, he sometimes gives free imitations of the classics, as in *La Moglie* ("The Wife"), *Gli Sciamiti* ("The Amaranths"), *La Dote* ("The Dowry"); sometimes, as in the *Assiuolo* ("The Owl"), showing some of the excellencies of the *Mandràgola,* which it resembles, he has taken eclectically from novels; and again, he puts upon the stage scenes from daily life, as in *Il donzello* and *Il serviziale.*

These are the three kinds of subjects into which the comedy of the sixteenth century may be divided and classified. To the last-named class belongs the *Straccioni* ("Men in Rags"), by Annibal Caro, where real personages are brought upon the stage, and where, as in *Gl' ingiusti Sdegni* ("The Unjust Anger"), by Bernardino Pino da Cagli, they raise us "into more bracing air." On the other hand, we are amid the filth that spoils the greater part of the comedy of this age, in reading *Il Marescalco* ("The Blacksmith"), *La Cortigiana, L'Ipocrito* ("The Hypocrite"), *La Talanta* and *Il Filosofo,* of Pietro

Aretino. They likewise depict the times and the manners, but overdrawn, since in this kind of literature that free genius would not submit to the yoke of mere imitation. The types of the pedant, of the parasite—who, with charity always in his mouth, is watching his opportunity to swindle—of the scholar immersed in his books and neglecting the affairs of his house and his wife, and, together with these, a mass of figures taken from actual life, which Aretino carries rapidly before us, seem to live and move in this comedy, neglectful of form, and poor in plot, but singular and attractive.

While the literati exerted themselves to imitate the tragedies and comedies of antiquity, the secular plays among the people were gradually growing richer and fuller. The *frottole* in dialogue, which in the Sacred Representations often took the place of the "Annunciations," and which were developed from monologues till they assumed the form of little dramas on domestic and social subjects, and acquired a life of their own, were akin to the *frottole* of buffoonery not only by name but by meter. Similarly, the *gliommeri* of Sannazzaro, and others, transmitted to us from the close of the fifteenth century by gentlemen of the Court of Aragon, imitate the plebeian histrionic pieces and have the meter of the *frottola.* They are monologues, and the scenic pieces that have come down to us from the end of the fifteenth century, under the name of farces, are monologues made over and made better. At Naples, in the reign of the Aragonese, together with *strambotti* and *barzellette,* arose from the streets and squares the *filastrocche* (nonsense rhymes) and the contests of the merry-andrews. Pietro Antonio Caracciolo, aided by other gentlemen, recited farces in hendecasyllabic lines with rhymes in the middle, the favorite form of the *frottole,* which, like the *frottole* included in the Sacred Representations, depicted the familiar life of the people. Examples of the popular farces,

amplified from monologues or buffoon contests, upon which those of Caracciolo were modeled, are to be found in the later *cavaiole,* so called because they mimicked and ridiculed the inhabitants of Cava de' Tirreni.

What Caracciolo was at Naples, that was in Piedmont Giovan Giorgio Alione, of Asti, who, living in an Italian province with trans-Alpine manners, wrote farces in the dialect of his city, mostly imitations of the French. Some of them took their material from conditions and events of the time—*Farsa del Franzoso allogiato all' osteria del Lombardo,* ("Farce of the Frenchman Lodged at the Lombard Inn"). They are not in Astigian, but in a language mixed of various dialect elements. Others resemble the moralities or moral farces, *Farsa dell' Uomo e de' suoi cinque Sensi* ("Farce of Man and of His Five Senses"). Italian moralities were written in the first years of the century, and popular farces, independent of French models, abounded. From simple recitals improvised before random audiences—*contrasti, gliommeri, mariazi,* or *mogliazzi*—the farces were changed into short scenic pieces full of scurrilous jests; then at last they took on a literary character, and often a moral purpose. Further, this form, standing midway between imitations of Latin originals and the buffoonery of the streets, had in that age many ramifications and offshoots.

From the popular farce is developed the comic art of Angelo Beolco, called Ruzzante (1502?-1542), a Paduan, prince of the vernacular comedy of the sixteenth century. He was an actor, and his stage experience is manifest in all his comedies. It is of use, however, to distinguish, from those on classic lines, those in which he has shown the freedom of tendency and of standards which is his glory. These last approach in form the popular farces, and are themselves farces; the *Fiorina,* a simple but effective picture of rural life, gives an admirable drawing of peasant love. Nor do Ruzzante's

comedies merely please and entertain; they are aids to the study of "demo-psychology," through the large basis of truth under the comic parody and the great number of *canzoni,* proverbs and popular sayings that can be gathered from them. Moreover, the Paduan dialect, in the mouths of most of the characters, is lively and fresh. In these respects, as also in his attitude toward dramatic art, Ruzzante surpasses most of the other authors of vernacular comedy that flourished contemporaneously with him in Venetia.

Gigio Artemio Giancarli, of Rovigo, drew a train of imitators after him with his *Zingara* ("Gipsy"), written in 1545; but, more than from any other cause, by reason of the popularity of the subject, which connects with the vast "zingaresque literature," common to diverse nations. Andrea Calmo (1510?-1571), a Venetian, and a comic actor like Il Ruzzante, is certainly worthy of study, on account of the medley of different dialects, and the realistic images of the life of his time, given in his comedies, where the characters of the Latin theater are not reproduced—*Il Saltuzza* (name of a character), *La Spagnolas* and others; but with one half more simplicity Il Ruzzante has obtained much better effects.

Closely connected with the popular farces are the *commedie rusticane* written in Siena in the first half of the sixteenth century. Even from mediæval times the ridicule of nobles and citizens had been directed against the inhabitants of the fields, and rustics had been loaded with contumely in prose and in verse, in Latin and in Italian. It is not strange, therefore, that their clownishness, not disjoined from dull craft, had given rise to a special form of stage composition, and that these were so pleasing that the artists who wrote and recited them were invited to Rome by Leo X and Agostino Chigi; and that the ablest among them, Niccolò Campani, called *Lo Strascino,* attained to great fame. In some of these

rustic comedies or farces, divinities, nymphs and satyrs have part; the conventional bucolic element is joined to rusticity inspired by reality. This hybrid genus flourished especially with the Rozzi, a society of workmen founded in Siena in 1531 with the object of passing their holidays in rational amusements.

All these popular farces and comedies preluded the *commedia dell' arte*,—comedy of arts, or comedy of masks, —which lorded it on the Italian stage for nearly two centuries. There, in fact, are met, besides some directions for improvisation, fixed types, which recall to us the *maschere*, and personages using like them a fixed dialect.

The Italian drama of the sixteenth century, with all its defects, was famed and circulated outside of Italy.

Italian actors were received in France with rejoicing. Melin de Saint-Gelais translated Trissino's *Sofonisba* and had it acted. The Italian colony at Lyons wished to see the *Calandria* on the stage. Our comedies and tragedies freed the French from the fetters of the mediæval secular drama; their primitive comedy can be called, not Latinized, but Italianized. In fact, a dramatic writer, Jean de la Taille, places Ariosto as a writer of comedy beside Plautus and Terence, and advises his nation to model their own drama upon the Italian. Pierre Larivéy, originally Florentine *(L'Arrivé* is a translation of the surname *Giunti)*, left nine comedies, all following to some extent in the line of ours. And nearly as much may be said of the French tragedy of the century.

In Spain the drama preserved the national impress; but from the *autos sacramentales*, destitute of artistic value, arose rules for comedy and tragedy in imitation of the Italian. As Boscan and Garcilaso de la Vega in lyric poetry, so Lope de Rueda in the drama is at the top of the ladder by which *Italianism* rose so high in Spain; the intermediate steps are occupied by writers

that flourished late in the fifteenth and early in the sixteenth centuries, and lived for some time in Italy—Juan del Encina and Bartolommeo de Torres Naharro. The former was chapelmaster at the Vatican; the second published his *Propaladia* at Naples; and both studied our scenic eclogue, our rural farce, our comedy. De Rueda is specially notable for his imitation of Giancarli's *Zingara* in *Medora*.

Finally, the connection of the comedies of Molière, greatest among the French writers of this class, with the Italian drama of that age, is not to be overlooked, nor the circulation of sixteenth-century Italian drama in England and, lastly, in Holland. About half of the English dramatic productions in the time of Queen Elizabeth can be traced, by one path or another, to Italy; and the prince of dramatists, William Shakespeare, drew frequently from Italian sources.

Our prose of this age, as well, had its admirers and imitators outside of Italy, varied and vivid as it was, notwithstanding its uniformity of character and the restraint of its style. There was no subject that it had not treated, no class in which it had not succeeded. But its greatest glory is in history; and the writers of histories, chronicles and annals are counted by hundreds.

First among them, after Machiavelli and Guicciardini, is Pier Francesco Giambullari (1495-1555), a mild and upright man of letters, friend of the Medici and absorbed in study. In his *History of Europe,* interrupted at Book VII, which covers 887 to 947 of our era, he undertakes to represent the uncertain and confused affairs of distant countries in time not less distant, following Luitprand's *Antapodosis,* and making use at the same time of very many other writers, directly or indirectly, but always with critical discretion. In this work, the excellencies of style, to which the author has sacrificed more than one of substance, are such that Giordani

called it "the most perfect prose of the *cinquecento.*" The account of the battle between Arnulf of Germany and Zwentebold, or Sviatopulk, King of the Bohemians and Moravians, the famous episode of Tocco the archer, the description of the Hungarians in their primitive condition of barbarism, are passages with which every student of the language and of Italian prose is familiar.

No history of ancient times worthy to stand beside Giambullari's was written in Italy until Sigonio's. It was much easier to narrate events of contemporaneous history, and many writers engaged in it. But with some of them the judgment was often obscured by passion, even when they were not bribed by favors and emoluments, like Paolo Giovio (1483-1552), of Como, a Papal physician, created Bishop of Nocera in 1528. In the forty-five books, in Latin, of the *History of My Own Times,* he has diligently gathered a great mass of material from various sources; but too often, to use one of his own phrases, he has "tipped his pen with gold" in praise of those that furnished the gold.

After Guicciardini's *History of Italy,* the only one of note among those in Italian dealing with the events of the entire peninsula is the *History of My Own Times,* by Giovan Battista Adriani (1513?-1579), a Florentine, who in 1549 and subsequently was a lecturer on eloquence in his own city. It covers the time of Cosimo I; and it is said to have been based, not only on documents from the archives, but upon the *memorie segrete* of the Duke by whose command it was written. Coming from such a source, the statements of the ducal historian concerning the political events of his time, though not to be rejected, are to be taken with caution.

Much more numerous are the histories of municipalities; and in this field also the most and the best come from Florence. Jacopo Nardi (1476-1563), a Florentine of an ancient and noble family opposed to the Medici,

lived in exile after the fall of the Republic, maintaining himself with the meager proceeds of wearisome labor at translating, and continuing to oppose the oppressors of his country. In 1535 when the exiles from Florence brought their cause before Charles V in Naples, Nardi spoke in their name. Later, when every hope of victory had vanished, he gave himself up to letters and reflection; and in Venice, in the society of friends and fellow-citizens who loved him, he first made a translation of Livy (1540), and then wrote for his own diversion and solace his *Memorie* ("Reminiscences") of the events in his country in which he had taken part. In the ten books of the *History of the City of Florence,* which were published after his death, the last struggles of Florentine liberty are related with moderation and without rhetoric or acrimony. The reader feels it to be the work of the man of long experience resigned to the will of God—the old man regarding the affairs of the world with serenity. The style is somewhat languid, and in the last books repetitions and lacunæ are not lacking. The matter is in part taken from a *Diario* by Biagio Buonaccorsi. But certain details drawn by the author from his own reminiscences are precious, and the pages that he revised lead us to pass over the defects in form of the remainder.

A more concise history of Florence, also anti-Medici, is that of Giovan Michele Bruto. In his *First Eight Books of the History of Florence* (1562) he relates, in a Latin style, dignified and, as it were, in toga, the vicissitudes of Florence from its beginning to 1492. Filippo de' Nerli (1485-1556), a partisan of the Medici, wrote *Commentarii de' Fatti Civili Occorsi dentro la citta di Firenze dall' Anno 1215 al 1537* ("Commentaries on Civic Events in the City of Florence from 1215 to 1537"). This is a diffuse and minute relation, in twelve books, of the internal revolutions and dissensions of Florence,

its main purpose being to show the great good fortune of the city in being saved by a single ruler, and in "no longer having cause for civil contention concerning matters of state." This work, aside from whatever praise may be due to its art and style, should be accepted with caution as a source of history, because the author has colored personages and events according to the suggestions of his passions.

Better in every resepect is the *Florentine History* of Benedetto Varchi (1503-1565), a contemporary of Nerli. It is a true and proper history, not commentaries or recollections. Varchi, a man of letters, who held himself high within his country or without, had a passion for study and academic activity, and wrote in the vernacular a full history of Florence from 1527 to 1538, magnificently provided for by Duke Cosimo, who made him in addition the gift of a villa. He endeavored to emulate the masterpieces of antiquity, aiming at dignity of style more than effectiveness, and making his work strictly correct in grammar and syntax. He knew how to be truthful without failing in devotion to the Duke, and did not withhold censure from Clement VII and others of the House of Medici. The sources he drew from were most varied—the public libraries, diaries and private memoirs, oral and epistolary evidence—among which were certain important letters addressed to him by Giambattista Busini,—histories and chronicles. Like him, Bernardo Segni (1504-1558) in his *Florentine History from 1527 to 1555,* notable for its sincerity and its lucid and effective style, shows himself to be a lover of liberty but not averse to the rule of Duke Cosimo. He was a partisan of the oligarchy, and resigned himself to the existing régime, as did Jacopo Pitti (1519-1589), who left a history of Florence and an *Apologia dei Cappucci* ("Defense of the Cappucci") in the form of a

dialogue, intended to defend democracy and censure Guicciardini.

A Tuscan writer already mentioned, Giovanni Guidiccioni, was successively Governor of Rome, Bishop of Fossombrone, nuncio at Madrid, President of the Romagna, Pontifical Commissary in the War of 1541 against the Colonnesi, and Governor of the Marches. His *Lettere di Negozii* ("Letters of a Diplomat") are worthy to stand beside those of Guicciardini; to those who can interpret them, they reveal important political secrets and covertly indicate the hidden aims of the men conducting the negotiations to which they refer.

But for other histories proper it is necessary to look to Venetia and Genoa. The *Serenissima* had instituted the office of public historian at the end of the preceding century; and the first to which it was entrusted in the sixteenth century was Andrea Navager, whose work has not come down to us. But we have the *Historia Veneta* of Bembo, in the Latin text and in an Italian translation by the author, covering the period from 1487 to the death of Julius II. This gives in classic form copious details from documents of the law-courts and from the *Diarii* of Sanudo.

The Republic of Genoa had two conspicuous Latin historians—Uberto Foglietta, of Genoa, and Jacopo Bonfadio, of Gorzano near Salò. To the former we owe a dialogue in Italian, *Delle cose della Repubblica di Genova,* where, with freedom of speech rare in those times, he assails the conservative party in power in Genoa. The *Annales* (1528-50) of Bonfadio are a history of Venice well constructed and full of vigor.

Other Italian cities had their historians in this age. The Veronese Paolo Emilii (died in 1529) wrote *De rebus gestis Francorum* ("Exploits of the Franks"), in imitation of Polybius, Livy, and Thucydides, having in view rather the relation of cause to effect than chronological

order, by which he opened new avenues for historical science beyond the mountains. Lucio Marineo, a Sicilian, a disciple of Pomponio Leto, and a professor at Salamanca, repaid the favors of Ferdinand the Catholic by writing various works upon Spain in Latin. Pietro Martire, of Anghiera, in his valuable *Opus Epistolarum*, a shining mirror of the times, expresses sentiments that appear to be the fruit of an able mind and a conscience kept stainless even in the life of a court. To him we owe a work where for the first time the scientific explorations in the Western Hemisphere are narrated and discussed, beginning with the first undertaking of Columbus. Together with the great *Collection of Voyages and Travels* by Giambattista Ramusio, of Treviso, it constitutes a mine of information for the history of geography.

More than one of the historians of the *cinquecento*, especially among the Tuscans, have left full and important biographies; for example, Nardi, Adriani and Segni. Nardi has eloquent passages in the life of Antonio Giacomini Tebalducci; in the life of Niccolò Capponi, attributed to Segni, the career of an important personage is followed amid political vicissitudes with admirable dexterity; Adriani's account of the activities of Duke Cosimo is clear and well constructed.

A work of the highest value for the history of art is *Le Vite de' piú eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori* ("Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects"), by Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574), of Arezzo, himself a painter and architect. This voluminous work, extending from Cimabue to Vasari himself, is written in calm and graceful style; it not only gives an immense mass of information, but represents admirably the characters of the artists, often most eccentric. Paolo Giovio wrote in Latin full biographies of personages of his own and earlier times, drawn from a great number of historic sources. His work was an example

and model to foreigners. In general it may be said of these biographers that they have learned the art of studying man in relation to historic events from our literati and diplomats. In the *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti* ("Proceedings of the Venetian Ambassadors"), secrets of various politicians are often guessed at with great acumen.

This spirit of observation, exercised by writers even in the consideration of their own thoughts and feelings, gave occasion to autobiographies of admirable sincerity. Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571), a Florentine who handled with equal skill the small sword, the chisel, and the graver, left a *Vita de se Stessa* ("Life of Himself") written in the style in which he spoke, and most singular. Among all our prose writers he is the most original, the least reflective; in his writing he disregarded the rules and forms of grammar almost as much as those of morals in his life. He represents objects with the clearness of line and contour that he would have given them by his own proper art of design. And few novels contain such an abundance of imaginary types or portraits imitated from life as Cellini's autobiography has of types culled, one might almost say surprised, in actual daily life. What the *Cortegiano* of Castiglione is for the court life of the sixteenth century, this is for the Bohemia of dissolute artists and adventurers. Among them is encamped the author, brave and grotesque, petulant and quarrelsome. For Cellini has depicted himself with ingenuousness that makes one smile, as Baretti writes subtly: "A little of a traitor without believing himself such, a vain braggart without suspecting it, with a dose of madness not moderate, accompanied by a firm confidence that he is very wise, circumspect and prudent." A document of the soul of a glorious artificer and at the same time a faithful picture of times and manners, the Life of Benvenuto

Cellini has had such a translator as Goethe, and has met with great success outside of Italy.

Few romances were written in the first half of the sixteenth century. The *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* ("The Amorous Contest of the Dreaming Lover of Polia"), by Frate Francesco Colonna, published at Venice in 1499, is a strange book in pedantic prose, bristling with Latinisms and heavy with erudition, where the author represents allegorically his erotic vicissitudes, taking as his model the *Amoroso Visione* of Boccaccio. In the *Peregrino* ("Pilgrim") Jacopo Caviceo, of Parma, fused together classic, Dantesque, and Boccaccian elements but with a simple plot and with poverty of imagination. Niccolò Franco's foolish and prolix *Filena* is an interminable love-story imitated from the *Ameto*. Nothing much better is to be said of the *Storia di Fileto Veronese* ("Story of Fileto of Verona"), by Ludovico Corfino, or of the *Compassionevoli avvenimenti d'Erasto* ("Pitiable Adventures of Erastus"), taken from one of the many versions of the popular *Book of the Seven Wise Men*.

The novelists were numerous in this age, and their work, together with the comedy, to which it is closely related, offers a lively picture of the domestic and social life of the Italians of the *cinquecento*. Lasca and Girolamo Perabosco wrote novels and comedies. The latter, organist of St. Mark's at Venice, has used more than one of the plots of his dramas as themes for stories in the *Diporti* ("Diversions"). Il Lasca, as Anton Francesco Grazzini was called among the "Umidi" (1503-1584), was a Florentine indifferently educated, but, as we have seen, ingenious and witty. His comedies and novels complement each other. The *Cene* ("Suppers") were to comprise thirty stories, recounted, after Boccaccio's plan, before and after supper, by fifteen pairs of lovers in three days; but there are only twenty-two, the others, except the beginning of one, having been lost.

They constitute, none the less, an important collection. The continuous imitation of the *Decameron* does not lessen the comic effect of the abundant witticisms and picturesque phrases.

But among Italian novelists of the sixteenth century, the greatest in many respects in Matteo Bandello (1480?-1565), of Castelnuovo di Scrivia, a Dominican who rose to the honor of the episcopate. Without arranging his two hundred and fourteen tales according to a definite design, he, like Masuccio Salernitano, prefixed to each a dedication to some gentleman or gentlewoman; and in dedication or in story he makes the society of his time live again before our eyes. In his work the historic elements nearly equal the imaginary. Some of his tales refer to well-known events—the Roman Lucretia, Alboni and Rosamond, the slaughter of the Buondelmonti, the tyranny of Ezzelino, the Sicilian Vespers—and we meet in his novels great ladies and great courtesans, artists and writers, from Ludovico the Moor to Giovanni of the Black Bands, from Isabella Gonzaga to the Countess of Challant, from Leonardo da Vinci to Machiavelli. Novel XL, of the first part, is put into the mouth of Machiavelli. In *Giovanni delle Bande Nere* ("Giovanni of the Black Bands") there is allusion to an experiment made by the Florentine secretary of certain orders of infantry "of which he had treated at length long before in his book on the military art." Bandello lacked, indeed, the vivacity and gayety of the Tuscans; but as a compensation he represents in his own work the Italian novel in all its multiplex variety; and although not highly tragic in sentimental tales, nor wholly comic in the facetious, he always attracts and delights.

Among the other novelists of the age, Machiavelli takes a place by his *Belfagor Arcidiavolo* ("The Archdevil Belphegor"), a tale of oriental origin, to which

the great writer has given an artistic setting; and Doni, by the many tales scattered through his curious books; and Agnolo Firenzuola (1493-1546?), a Florentine, the jovial and elegant author of discourses on feminine beauty and of a very free version of *The Golden Ass* of Apuleius. In his *Ragionamenti* ("Arguments") he has inserted tales and in the *Prima Veste de' Discorsi degli Animali* ("First Discourses of Animals") has taken indirectly fables and apologues from the *Panciatantra,* an ancient Indian book. Others worthy of mention are: Ortensio Lando, of Milan, a paradoxical and whimsical author, who wrote a variety of tales; Pietro Fortini, of Siena, a voluminous and most indecent novelist; and, finally, Luigi da Porto (1485-1529). This gentleman of Vicentia, who, after serving as a soldier many years, withdrew on account of infirm health into domestic quiet, and devoted himself to congenial studies, wrote admirable *Historic Letters* on the wars in Italy from 1509 to 1513. But he owes his fame to the novel *Giulietta e Romeo,* full of dramatic passages, and written with purity and elegance of language. From this, though not directly, Shakespeare took the plot of his *Romeo and Juliet;* as often in his masterpieces he drew from some one of our novels the subtle fabric which he amplified and magnificently embellished.

The court society of the *cinquecento,* whose manner of thought and feeling is reflected in the poems of chivalry, is directly represented in the treatises on courtesy and fine manners by Castiglione and Della Casa.

Count Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529), of Casatico near Mantua, a famous litterateur, skilful diplomat, and perfect courtier in the better sense of the word, lived during the most splendid period of the Renaissance, when in the noonday light of art and poetry the finest qualities of the Italian mind had a medium for manifesting themselves in the intellectual refinement of life

among our aristocracy. The *Cortegiano* ("Courtier"), published about the time that the first edition of the *Furioso* saw the light, is a sort of compilation where old and new are blended and the glorious records of the classic world do not prevent the author from having in mind always the tendencies, tastes, and manners of his own age. Varied elements are harmoniously united—literary and artistic, aristocratic ideality and practical conceptions, never gross or plebeian. Castiglione labored ten years over his book, changing and improving with that fastidiousness of the true artist which we have met with in Ariosto and Bembo. The *Cortegiano* was finally issued in 1528. It is in the form of a dialogue concerning the qualities necessary to a perfect gentleman of the court, supposed to take place at Urbino at the time when the flower of the literati of Italy gathered about Elisabetta Gonzaga and Emilia Pio. Few Italian writings of the century are more graceful or of more substantial value. One feels that it is worthy of the pen of a cavalier and humanist, the friend of Raphael and Bembo, equally skilled in treating gravely negotiations of state and entertaining with amiable gayety a company of ladies.

The famous *Galateo* of Monsignor Giovanni della Casa (1503-1556), of Florence, Archbishop of Benevento, then nuncio at Venice, and at last Secretary of State of Paul IV, has been issued in numerous editions from 1558, when it was first published, down to our day, has been translated into various languages, and is everywhere regarded as the code of good breeding. Thus Italy, which displayed before the astonished eyes of the foreigner the splendors of the courts of Mantua, Ferrara and Urbino, has the credit of having instructed Europe in elegance of manner and aristocratic urbanity. This book, polished in style and with a soupçon of good-humored wit, a mirror of the times, and the fruit as well of the

special aptitudes and classic erudition of the author, is a companion-piece to Castiglione's *Cortegiano.*

Not to be passed over in the list of works on Italian manners in the sixteenth century are the literary and philosophic treatises that have come down to us regarding love and woman; for they contain theories not alien from the common mode of feeling, hints as to usages of the time, records of events and persons illustrating the theories advocated—to say nothing of the help they give us in forming an idea of the varied fortunes of the works of Plato and Aristotle in that age. The principal authors of such treatises are Bembo, Mario Equicola, Giuseppe Betussi, and Leone Ebreo. Bembo published in 1505 a book of dialogues with the title *Asolani,* so called from the castle of Asolo, the residence of Catherine Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus, where the dialogues are supposed to have taken place. They do not follow the lines of the Platonic symposium so much as of the *Ameto* of Boccaccio, and they contain subtle disquisitions upon love in a prolix and artificial style, with philosophic *canzoni* scattered through the prose. Equicola, a litterateur and historian born in Alvito near Caserta, but living for a long time at the court of Mantua, offers a collection of the most authoritative opinions on the same subject in his *Nuovo Cortegiano* ("New Courtier"), and especially in his *Book on the Nature of Love,* which, like *Asolani,* has had a wide circulation. Betussi, a Bassanese, shows less originality in his *Dialogo Amoroso* and *Raverta;* and he owes much to Equicola. Finally, Leone Ebreo, a Spanish Jew, treats philosophic questions of a varied nature in his *Dialoghi d'Amore* ("Dialogues on Love").

Treatises on all sorts of subjects flourished in this century: on the point of honor and the duel, on strategy and military science, on games, dances, horsemanship, on fishing, on the chase, on the education of sons, on

agriculture. There were some notable essays on poetic art; and among the treatises on historiography particular mention should be made of that by Francesco Patrizi (1529-1597), of Cherso, an island between Istria and Dalmatia. In his book are set forth, with acumen and according to modern standards, the aims of history, its classes, and the dignity and authority of historic discipline. The dialogue form, inherited from Plato, Lucian, and Cicero, is common to the greater part of sixteenth-century treatises, and it served also for works that instructed by amusing and satirizing, like the *Capricci del Bottaio* ("Caprices of a Cooper") and the *Circe* of Giovan Battista Gelli (1498-1563), a shoemaker of Florence, in love with books and study, President in 1548 of the Florentine Academy, and in 1553 deputed to interpret Dante's *Commedia,* concerning which, as well as on Petrarch's *canzoniere,* he left important *lezioni.* In the *Capricci,* with Lucianesque imagination that recalls certain *contrasti* of the Middle Ages, Gelli imagines that Giusto, the cooper, and his soul hold arguments for ten successive mornings upon diverse subjects. His intention was to prove that man, even when practising one of the mechanic arts, may not neglect the liberal arts. And in Giusto he symbolizes popular error insinuated into the mind by vicious education; while in his soul is symbolized the judgment of the reason exercised in reflection and illuminated by the light of truth. In the *Circe,* Ulysses questions his companions who have been transmuted into animals by the famous sorceress of the *Odyssey,* and all except one refuse the offer of being turned back into men, with reasonings giving a witty representation of the miseries of human life. This invention, taken in a special way from the *Grillo* of Plutarch, is written naturally with mastery of style.

If to all this we add the considerable number of orations, at times not destitute of vigor and eloquence,

like those of Bartolommeo Cavalcanti, Guidiccioni, Della Casa, and especially the *Apologia* of Lorenzino de' Medici (1514-1548), where he defends and glorifies his tyrannicide, moving straight to its aim, lucid, concise, all nerve; if we take account of the *Epistolarii,* that with scant sincerity but much elegance were written, arranged and published by almost all the men of letters; we shall see no cause for wonder at the circulation of even our prose of this century outside of Italy, and the influence exerted upon foreigners by the *Cortegiano,* the *Galateo,* the dialogues of Gelli, and Equicola's treatise upon love.

CHAPTER VII

LITERATURE IN THE TIME OF THE CATHOLIC REACTION

DURING the second half of the sixteenth century, the absolute predominance of Spain in our peninsula, and the Catholic reaction through the Council of Trent, while restraining thought, impressed a special character upon art, preventing some of its forms from farther development, and changing the course and spirit of others.

We have seen that the science of statecraft had found expression most full and most happily adapted to the relation and the analysis of historic events in the last years of Florentine liberty. This having been swept away, deliberation and counsel had to be in secret; for, of the Italian States subject to Spain or ruled despotically, no other was in a condition to receive the glorious heritage. But later, with other tendencies of thought, the secular Republic which was the extreme bulwark of *Italianità* had a conspicuous representative in political

literature—Paolo Paruta (1540-1598), a Venetian; and in Savoy, Giovanni Botero (1540-1617), of Bene in Piedmont, who has been called "the prince of the mediocre" in political thought, flourished in the closing years of the century.

Paruta, chosen in 1579 by the Council of Ten as historiographer of the *Serenissima,* was a learned student of historic and philosophic science and at the same time a diplomat versed in public affairs. In 1596 he was Procurator of San Marco, the office of greatest dignity after that of the Doge, and in the last years appears to have been very close to that dignity. All this may be learned from the reading of his works in Italian prose, a mirror of the mind of the author and also of his time, above which, moreover, he rose by the force of his genius. In the *Perfezione della Vita politica* ("Perfection of Political Life") he gives a masterly description of his imagined model of citizen and statesman. In the *Discorsi politici* he investigates the causes of the grandeur and the decadence of the Romans, and treats of modern governments, especially that of Venice. Noteworthy, also, are his *History of the War of Cyprus* (1570-73) and the *Venetian History* (1513-1551) in twelve books in Italian (the first four in Latin also), written by order of the Republic.

Contemporary with Paruta was Botero, who represents more faithfully than Paruta the spirit of reaction that pervaded a great part of Europe in the last years of the sixteenth century. He was a disciple of the Jesuits, and bequeathed them his property and desired to be buried in their church in Turin. He preached at Milan, and was secretary to Carlo and afterward to Federigo Borromeo. From the Duke of Savoy he received in 1604 the abbacy of San Michelo della Chiusa. His most praised and most characteristic work, the *Ragione di Stato,* in ten books (1589), aptly defined by

De Sanctis as the "code of conservatives," was designed as an antidote to the immoral teachings of Machiavelli. But Botero, making religion the foundation of the proper political edifice, permits or counsels violence and dissimulation in its service, and thus he is not so far away from the methods that the Florentine Secretary recommends for reaching his own supreme end, the formation and conservation of the State. Yet, by reason of many acute observations and many wise precepts, this and his other works, written in a style inelegant but concise, are even to-day held in estimation by economists.

While, from the causes just indicated, historical investigation of first causes and ultimate results, with the inner development and organic relations of historic events, which had given to Italy a Machiavelli and a Guicciardini, lay in chains in our unfortunate peninsula, there were not lacking many who devoted themselves to simple history, more or less impartial, according to the authors and the States. In Latin, Cesare Baronio da Sora, who rose in 1596 to the honor of the purple, wrote the *Annales Ecclesiastici,* a most important history of the Church down to 1198; and Giampietro Maffei, a Jesuit of Bergamo, detailed the operations of his Society in the East Indies. In Italian, besides the *Vite di diciasette confessori di Cristo* ("Lives of Seventeen Confessors of Christ"), there were at this time notable historic works by two Neapolitans, Angelo Di Costanzo and Camillo Porzio. To the former we owe a *History of the Kingdom of Naples,* in twenty books (1581), from the death of the Emperor Frederick II through the wars in the time of Ferdinand I (1250-1486), a work valued for its form and its historic importance. Various writings of Porzio are extant; among them is the *Congiura dei Baroni* ("Conspiracy of the Barons"), written in 1565, an account of the famous conspiracy of 1486, not worthy of the authority ascribed to it, since it is

contradicted in many places by documents and the testimony of chroniclers contemporary with the events recorded, but commendable for its style, formed upon Sallust and Machiavelli.

Another historian and translator of histories who flourished in the second half of the century, was especially distinguished for his style. Bernardo Davanzati (1529-1606) was a Florentine of the ancient nobility, engaged in commerce and at the same time devoted to study and to academic work: He published in 1602 a work of strong Catholic sentiment, *Scisma d'Inghilterra* ("The Schism of England"), an abridgment of the *Vera et sincera historia schismatis Anglicani,* by an English Jesuit. He wrote in a concise and vigorous style, aiming to emulate the nervous restraint of Tacitus. He also translated the work of Tacitus into Italian, with the design of showing how "concise and subtle" is the Florentine speech, and how much energy *(fierezza)* there is in it. The translation does not, in truth, give a faithful idea of the spirit of Tacitus; but, most original and effective it seemed to Foscolo and the most marvelous that ever was seen. In it Davanzati draws freely from existing Florentine usage, not believing "that a living language should be obliged to have recourse in writing only to the vocabulary of a few dead authors, but should draw from the perennial fountains of the city the most vivid and effective natural expressions, which fly with impetus and reach the mind by the shortest and quickest path, many times carrying a significance beyond their strict meaning." Another noble Florentine, Filippo Sassetti (1540-1588), also devoted equally to commerce and to study, resembled Davanzati in this matter of language. Besides a *Difesa della Commedia di Dante,* a *Discorso contro l'Ariosto,* a *Vita del Ferrucci,* and other writings, he left *Lettere* full of curious and sometimes valuable information concerning

the Iberian peninsula, and more upon the Indies, where he spent his last years, being there by commission of a Portuguese merchant who had leased the trade in pepper from the King of Spain. In this notable correspondence the subtle vivacity of the language and the novelty and finesse of the observations seem about equally praiseworthy.

On the other hand, substance only, and not form, gives value to the work of Scipio Ammirato (1531-1601), of Lecce, who went to Florence in 1569, and was accommodated in the Medicean palace and entrusted with the task of recording the history of the city from its foundation to his own time. Before his death he was canon of the cathedral. Exact, cautious, scrupulous in the examination and interpretation of old chronicles and state papers, he anticipated the modern method of using historic sources in his *History of Florence* (1600), in the *Opuscoli* ("Pamphlets"), and in the genealogies of illustrious families. He was scandalized by the wilful errors and the ingenious hyperboles of Machiavelli, who had covered a part of the same events. In consequence, Ammirato takes precedence of all the other historians of this epoch. The industrious Francesco Serdonati, born at Lamole near Florence in 1537, who wrote and translated many works, was mainly a voluminous compiler.

While unfavorable to modern historic methods and criticism, the conditions in the second half of the sixteenth century were propitious for research in antiquarianism, epigraphy, and ancient history, which is calculated to divert the intellect and the soul from the consideration and realization of present evils.

There were, therefore, famous writers in these departments who busied themselves in dispelling the thick darkness enveloping the arts, customs, laws, and monuments of the remotest ages. One of them, Onofrio Pan-

vinio (1529-1568), of Verona, passed a great part of his short but active life in the service of Cardinal Marcello Cervini—Pope Marcellus II—and from 1565 was corrector and reviser of the books in the Apostolic library. He illustrated Roman antiquity, mainly from his collection of epigraphs. Most of his learned works remained incomplete in consequence of his early death and from his ardent desire to know and make known to others his discoveries, which carried him rapidly from one subject to another. But he shed light upon them all, opening untried regions for the activity of the studious.

Following the same line of work, and in many respects the superior of Panvinio, was Carlo Sigonio (1523?-1584), of Modena, one of the most original and profound intellects of the century, and the best precursor of Ludovico Antonio Muratori, who, writing in Latin, not only made most useful contributions to the knowledge of Roman laws and institutions, but in a history of Italy from the arrival of the Lombards to 1199—continued afterward by him to 1286—the result of his researches among state papers and in chronicles, gave a serious example of criticism, and by deciphering old documents opened a path into the intricate forest of mediæval antiquity. Sigonio was a philologist as well as a historian; and his contests with Francesco Robortello, of Udine, a conspicuous representative of humanistic tradition, are celebrated. But in philologic learning no one then attained to such authority and fame as Pier Vettori (1499-1585), a Florentine, Professor of Greek and Latin in the Studio of his native city. His honorable and enduring fame rests upon his editions of and commentaries on Aristotle and Cicero, the illustrations accompanying certain Greek texts published by him for the first time, and on the *Variæ Lectiones,* a monument of classic learning.

In various modes and forms scholarship entered in this era the wide fields that had been opened before it. In that of language, the controversy left by the preceding century was continued by Gelli in a *Ragionamento* ("Discourse"), and by Varchi in the *Ercolano,* a dialogue so called from the name of the chief interlocutor, written in 1560, where he declared Florentine the language to be used in literature. On the other hand, Girolamo Muzio (1496-1576), of Padua, a cultured and versatile writer, but intolerant, published *Battaglie per la difesa dell' italica lingua* ("Battles in Defense of the Italian Language"), contending for a composite vocabulary, with revision of irregular words taken "from writings, from provinces, and from cities." In the *Varchina* he combated with acrimony what was said in the *Ercolano* in opposition to Trissino, in a style skilfully malicious. Vincenzo Borghini (1515-1580), a Florentine, prior of Benedictines, and afterward governor of the Hospital of the Innocents, who passed most of his life in his native city, with a deserved reputation for learning, was passionately devoted to the study of Dante. He was a sagacious philologist, a versatile scholar, and an acute disputant on the history and language of Florence. Finally, Sperone Speroni (1500-1588), of Padua, a man of great authority as a critic and philosopher, develops forgotten arguments with grave and measured style in his *Dialoghi* and in a great number of discourses, orations and letters.

The revived religious sentiment, the direct and most sagacious interposition of the Church in literary work, and the influence of the Jesuits upon culture, gave rise to a copious production of prose and verse on spiritual subjects. Books of devotion of every kind were translated from Latin, Spanish and French, and new ones were written; sacred rhymes were composed by almost every one, and most of them were collected into *can-*

zoniere; Petrarch and Ariosto were spiritualized; and even the libertine novels of the *Decameron* were converted into edifying readings. Even the amorous lyrics assumed attitudes that were suited to the new direction of thinking, while remaining in general faithful to Petrarchism. To obtain an idea of it, one need only turn over the leaves of any *canzoniere* of the second half of the century. The event that most moved the heart and the imagination was the battle of Lepanto, a great triumph of the Cross over the Crescent. Italy, in chains as she was, could not dream of any other triumphs and was all exultation over that one, sang it in epic poems, now deservedly buried in oblivion, culled episodes of it to insert in other poems, and in innumerable lyrics labored vainly to transfer the poetry of events into the poetry of words.

A new literary species, of which there had indeed been scattered examples in the popular tongue before this, sprang into flower after the Tridentine Council, as a result of the rekindled religious ardor. Poems on sacred subjects were written by many, even some who in youth had taken an opposite direction in their art. The most notable, previous to Tasso's, was *Le lagrime di S. Pietro* ("The Tears of St. Peter"), by Luigi Tansillo, a result of his licentious *Vendemmiatore.* In the Index of prohibited books published in 1559, the honest Venosan had, to his amazement, found his own works. In order to have them taken off—as they afterward were—he undertook to finish this poem, begun long before, to atone for his juvenile fault. But the *Lagrime* did not see the light till 1585, after his death. It was immediately reprinted in many editions and translated into Spanish and French. Nor, given the spirit of the times, could it be otherwise; since, rather than a work of art, it is a series of one thousand two hundred and seventy-seven octaves divided into fifteen cantos or *pianti* (lam-

entations), with hardly a pretense of action where, in the protagonist St. Peter, the poet represents the various states of a penitent's soul in diverse places and circumstances. Some affecting passages and some happy imitations of Sannazzaro occur in the work, like oases in a desert.

And oases in the desert are the sparse artistic beauties met with in the didactic poems, for example, in the *Caccia* ("Chase") in *ottava rima* by Erasmo da Valvasone, a noble Friulan, author also of an *Angeleide* ("Angeliad") on the war between the angels and the demons, and of *Lagrime della Maddalena* ("Tears of the Magdalen"). Bernardino Baldi (1553-1617) wrote the *Nautica* ("Art of Navigation"), a poem deserving a place beside the *Coltivazione* of Alamanni, and by that jewel, Rucellai's little poem in blank verse upon *Le Api* ("The Bees"). Baldi, a native of Urbino, was a voluminous writer and a good linguist, to whom we owe eclogues, epigrams, varied rhymes, Latin poetry, translations from the Greek, and prose works, among which some *Lives of the Mathematicians* and biographies of Frederick II and Guidobaldo I of Montefeltro, Dukes of Urbino, are noteworthy. The *Nautica* is in four books and is a skilful imitation of the *Georgics* of Virgil, and in some parts of the fifth book of the *Æneid;* it teaches how to construct and manage a boat, and gives a poetic coloring to the arid subject. The blank verse is managed with a dexterity worthy of this graceful writer.

Not less than to such didactic poems do the *Balia* and the *Podere* by Luigi Tansillo, bear relation to the *capitoli* which were written upon jocose subjects. *La Balia* ("The Wet-Nurse"), published after 1552, is an exhortation to noble ladies to nurse their own children. It is a happy expression of a conceit expressed by Aulus Gellius in the *Noctes atticæ* ("Attic Nights"), repeated by Macrobius in the *Saturnalia,* touched in passing by Tacitus,

taken up again and developed differently by Leon Battista Alberti in the second book of the *Famiglia,* and by Speroni in a *Discorso del lattare i figlinoli dalle madri* ("Discourse on the Nursing of Children by Their Mothers"). Tansillo's poem has no relation to Speroni's dialogue, but a close one with the long passage from Gellius, if not with two papers of Plutarch; but the imitation is free and judicious. In the *Balia,* the poet, who knows by experience what trouble and inconvenience may be caused by putting a child out to nurse, or receiving nurses in the house, explains what he has experienced for the admonition of others, reaching the same conclusions at which Rousseau arrived two centuries later. The *Podere* ("Farm"), written in 1560, is divided into three chapters; it is imitated from Virgil and from the Latin *Agronomics.* In it Tansillo, taking occasion from the purchase of a farm that a friend of his has in view, sets forth precepts suggested by experience, inserting among other things a domestic idyl, where one knows not which most to admire, the soft and gentle movement, or the real spontaneity of the praises of country life. Avoiding the severity, sometimes dryness, characterizing some of the poems regularly formed—with propositions, invocations and poetic mechanism—by Alamanni, Baldi, and Erasmo da Valvasone—Tansillo attempts to instruct by familiar conversation, as Ariosto had done in the satire on the choice of a wife.

During the second half of the sixteenth century there was a disproportionate increase in the number of tragedies—a class of productions that, having become stupid in its turgidity, adapted itself to the times and gave umbrage to none. Some imitated the Grecians, others copied Seneca; the former, exaggerating immoderately the simplicity they admired in their examplars, fell into puerility; the latter, increasing the doses of philosophizing and of atrocity, moved to laughter when they in-

tended to bring to tears. Among the tragedies of Grecian type, the *Cresfonte* of Giambattista Liviera and the *Merope* of Pomponio Torelli make use of the same subject that later inspired Scipione Maffei and Alfieri, and are not undeserving of praise.

Among the tragedies of Seneca's type, the *Marianne* of the indefatigable Venetian poligraph, Lodovico Dolce, in which a dramatic dress is given to the story of the jealousy of Herod the Great, King of Judea, of his wife Mariamne, was much praised by many, but is to be remembered only as one of the most characteristic of this second manner. In it, Dolce, imitating not Seneca alone, but also the *Orbecche* of Giraldi, was in good company. Luigi Groto, called the Cieco (blind man) of Adria (1541-1585), rhymester, orator, author of tragedies and comedies despite his blindness, and therefore regarded as one of the wonders of his time, wrote the *Dalida* with a fantastic prologue similar to that of the *Orbecche,* and, as in that tragedy, two children are murdered, and three severed heads are brought in on a tray; only here the atrocity is more refined and the hecatomb greater. Antonio Decio da Orte is guilty of worse excesses, in fact, of Neronian inhumanity, in his *Acripanda.* Moreover, he anticipates the manner of the following century by his bombast and continual play of antithesis. This and other synchronous tragedies riot in bloodshed, reminding one of the devices of charlatans to draw the crowd to their booths.

Something better—not much is needed to surpass these tragedies of butchery—is found in the historic drama *Cesare,* of Orlando Pescetti, in the *Adriana* of Groto, a dramatization of the novel *Giulietta e Romeo,* in the *Gismonda* of Federico Asinari, Count of Camerano, and in the *Tancredi* of Torelli, derived from Boccaccio's novel of Gismonda and Guiscardo. The *Torrismondo* (1587) of Torquato Tasso rises only in comparison with

these dramas. Embroidered fantastically upon the fabric of the *King Œdipus* of Sophocles, in the chivalric element it approaches the *Arrenopia* of Giraldi, and follows the Aristotelian norm and the models of the Greeks. The action proceeds slowly and heavily, and in parts where one would most wish it to move, the sentiment stagnates in the rhetoric.

The fortunes of comedy in these years were still sadder; only the *Candelaio* of Giordano Bruno merits particular attention. In it the comic and the satiric are interlaced. The author represents three forms of the insanity of men by means of a triple action joined in one. In consequence, his comedy is varied, complex, full of strange personages, madmen, villains, all acting by the impulse of diverse passions. To sum up, it is a review of the miseries, incongruities and monstrosities of human life, inspiring at the same time laughter and reflection.

But in the second half of the sixteenth century the regular comedy was driven from its throne by the *Commedia dell' Arte* and the pastoral drama.

Of the Comedy of the Arts, or Comedy of Masks, also called *teatro a soggetto,* where the dialogue was improvised by professional actors according to a preëstablished plot, or scenario, the first experiments were made, as it seems, between the fifth and sixth decades of the century. The most ancient scenario that has come down to us is of a comedy improvised and recited, with the aid of others, by Massimo Troiano and Orlando di Lasso, at Munich in 1568, on the occasion of a princely marriage. Later, Cristoforo Castelletti, in the prologue to the *Torti Amorosi* (1581), complained that to the regular comedy the people preferred "the chatter improvised by an old Venetian (Pantaloon) and a Bergamasco servitor (the Merry-Andrew or Harlequin), accompanied by four disgraceful actions." And he told the truth; for the

teatro a soggetto celebrated its first triumphs in the closing years of the sixteenth century; and the rank flowering and fruitage of this new plant caused the old to wither by taking from it the air and the vital juices.

The pastoral drama arose also in this period, developed from the mythologic fables and representative eclogues current in elegant Italian society. To understand its origin and *raison d'être,* we must turn back to an earlier period.

Together with the rural poetry which we saw reflecting with candid realism the life of the country, a turbid mass of pastoral poetry in the vernacular was poured out among us, following the rise of the Latin bucolic in the last stage of the Renaissance. It used rural life as a medium for expression of sentiment and fantasies of various kinds, not infrequently adumbrating events and personages of the time under the veil of fictions after the manner of Theocritus or Virgil. These eclogues were usually in the form of dialogue, thus affording an easy transition from the lyric to the dramatic form; and, in fact, there is no substantial difference between one of Sannazzaro's eclogues designed to be read only, and one by Serafino dell' Aquila, which was acted in Rome under Innocent VIII. It is easy to understand how the eclogue, arranged for recitation, gradually assumed more and more the dramatic character. After the noble spectators had acquired a taste for it, something less simple was prepared for them. Galeotto del Carretto, Gualtieri da S. Vitale, Bernardo Bellincioni, and Serafino Aquilano, gave variety of meter to their eclogues and increased the number of interlocutors. Castiglione in the *Tirsi* (1506) used the *ottava rima* of the sacred representations and of rural poetry. *I Due Pellegrini* ("The Two Pilgrims"), published in 1527, of Tansillo, and the *Amaranta* (1538) of Giambattista Casalio of Faenza, have simple plots. In the former, two

unfortunate lovers are about to kill themselves when they are arrested by the voice of the dead lady of one of them, whose soul is shut up in a tree. In the *Amaranta* a shepherd and a nymph, crossed in their love, would do likewise if they were not saved by Lucina. But there were already theatrical compositions of considerable extent. The *Cecaria,* or *Dialogo di tre ciechi,* ("Colloquy of Three Blind Men"), written in 1525 by Marc' Antonio Epicuro, an ingenious and amusing Abruzzian, is longer than *I Due Pellegrini,* for which it was the model. But it belongs to a class somewhat diverse, and partakes of the comedy and the farce.

From the *Amaranta* to the pastoral drama proper of the second half of the century there are intermediate steps; that is, a series of eclogues, more and more interspersed with varied elements. Now they have the multiform splendor of the mythologic drama inaugurated by Politian with the *Orfeo,* now the lively freshness of the comedy. In the *Sacrificio* (1554) of Agostino Beccari, of Ferrara, we have the first example of the Italian pastoral drama; it rises to the height of art, though not independent of Greek romance, which was translated and freely circulated among us at the time. The *Aminta* of Torquato Tasso was written and acted at Ferrara in 1573. And *Il Pastor fido* ("The Faithful Shepherd"), by Giovanbattista Guarini, was presented in homage to Carlo Emanuel I, Duke of Savoy, in 1585, and was printed and published five years later.

In the *Aminta* Tasso gave Italy the most perfect example of its class, as in the *Jerusalem Delivered* he enriched it with the most perfect epic. The pastoral is a masterpiece, as much by the delicacy of the sentiment as by the exquisite form and the melodious verse. The action is simple, developed through a series of graceful idyls in five short acts, each closing with a chorus of shepherds. Aminta, who has long tried vainly to gain

the love of Sylvia, throws himself over a precipice on hearing a false report of her death. But the fall does not prove fatal; and by this highest proof of fidelity and self-sacrifice he gains the heart and hand of the maiden.

The excellence of the drama does not exist in the plot, but in the gentleness of the affection, the graceful movement, the plaintive elegiac tones; it has something of the modern spirit and seems to prelude the better pieces of the sentimental literature of Europe. In an age when delicacy of conceit and of form was above all sought and enjoyed, this drama was naturally received with great applause even outside of Italy.

For the same reason, the *Pastor fido,* written by Guarini in emulation of the *Aminta,* found admirers, translators and imitators in other countries. This Ferrarese gentleman (1538-1612) served not only the House of Este, but Carlo Emanuele, Duke of Savoy, the Gonzagas of Mantua, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. He was arch-consul of the Crusca and chief of the Umoristi of Rome. After proving himself a lyric poet of refinement and elegance, he took in hand his *Pastor fido,* "a pastoral tragi-comedy," which was acted for the first time in Crema in 1596. In this most fortunate pastoral drama he introduced varied elements of art, interwove many actions, and gave to the lyric parts great fulness, deferring to the taste of the time in artificiality of conceit and in sentimentality.

This artificiality is in evidence also in the prose of the time, which is animated by an affected and pompous solemnity. But in the writings now to be mentioned, and in some others, the changed spirit of the times is manifest in the content more than in the form. The novel form, which continued to be cultivated by authors of some merit, indecent and licentious as it had been, is, in general, moralizing. Thus Giambattista Giraldi, whom we have seen giving to the drama the

purpose of reforming manners, also directed to this end his *Ecatomithi* in 1565. It consists of a hundred novels, supposed, as usual, to be told by a company of men and women flying from a public calamity—not to the country, but sailing toward Marseilles. The public calamity in this case is the famous sack of Rome in 1527. The tales are properly one hundred and thirteen, ten of the thirteen serving as introductions and the other three referred to and given incidentally. Giraldi wishes that every one may find in his book a remedy for the evils that afflict him, and together with it high moral and civic instruction. He shows the clergy a respect that has no example in preceding novels; he draws an ideal society essentially different from that of his time; and, finally, he puts his stories into the mouths of persons serious and well-bred.

Another collection of the same kind is the *Sei giornate* ("Six Days"), written in 1567 by Sebastiano Erizzo (1525-1585), a patrician of Venice. It is a narration of "diverse happy and unhappy events, in which are contained noble and civil moral instructions." His thirty-six tales are all designed to educate, and are interspersed with reasonings and moral and political lessons.

In oratory the influence of the Council of Trent and of the Counter-Reformation is still more manifest; since there was at the time a great revival of sacred eloquence, of which there had been a dearth after St. Bernard of Siena and Frà Girolamo Savonarola, one in the first, the other in the second half of the fifteenth century. Cornelio Musso (1511-1574), of Piacenza, published five volumes of sermons, and enjoyed merited fame for orthodoxy and eloquence. Francesco Panigavola (1548-1594), of Milan, the most highly praised of the sacred orators of the sixteenth century, wrote, besides many sermons, a manual for the use of preachers. Epistolography, too, though naturally less affected than oratory

by the changed intellectual conditions, was very largely cultivated in the second half of the century. Annibal Caro (1507-1566), of Civitanova in the Marches, may be said to belong more to this age than to the one preceding. He is one of the most fecund, and, in respect of art, most praiseworthy of sixteenth-century letter-writers. His best work was written in the last decade of his life and then rose to high reputation, which has endured, with unavoidable abatement, even to our day.

In 1553 Caro had written a *canzone* beginning, "Come to the shade of the great golden lilies," in praise of the royal house of France, by order of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, his lord, who, like other members of this princely house, rewarded his servitors with honors and emoluments. The poem, highly praised by many, was bitterly criticised by Ludovico Castelvetro. The result was a controversy between the letter-writer of the Marches and the learned and pugnacious Modenese, which is celebrated in our literary annals by the noise it made and by the fierce extremes to which both parties were carried. For the rest, the writings to which it gave rise form an extended series of a critical and polemical nature, serving to give a complete idea of our intellectual life in that century; and there were still other clamorous contests. Anton Francesco Doni (1513-1574) was an eccentric Florentine, author of writings whimsical even in their titles,—*La Zucca, I Marmi* ("Marbles"), *I Mondi* ("Worlds"), *I Pistollotte* ("Great Pistols"), and others, but singularly vivacious and rich in varied information. He assailed Aretino and Lodovico Domenichi, or rather he persecuted Domenichi *à outrance;* his victim was one of the many poligraphi, voluminous writers, indefatigably busied in making the printing-presses groan. Two celebrated libelists who attacked each other fiercely were Niccolò Franco, of Benevento, and Pietro Pretino. The last-named belongs, in fact, to

the first half of the century. But he has some traits that characterize the whole century, and in turgid style and wild imaginings preludes the next. The authority he succeeded in gaining seems incredible, not so much by his facile but muddy writings as by adulation and unblushing servility. He received unstinted praise, homage, and lucre, and they called him the *flagello dei principi* ("scourge of princes").

During the second half of the sixteenth century all forms of art and literature showed signs of over-ripeness and hinted of coming decay. The epic alone arrived then at the climax of perfection; for a long period was required to subject to the laws and regulations of Aristotle's *Poetica* that unkempt child of the Middle Ages, the romance of chivalry. Ariosto had, indeed, attired it in the Homeric and Virgilian fashion, giving it a new start and a noble bearing; but a new spirit was needed. Aside from metaphor, there was need that a change of matter should correspond to the change of form. It was necessary that a unique subject should be found, highly epic, which at the same time could gather to itself, almost as cognate, the fictions of romance. Torquato Tasso had most happily the opportunity of choice; singing the deliverance of Jerusalem, he resumed the theme of the great struggle between Christian and Infidel, and gave it a worthy setting. For Boiardo and Ariosto had, no less than Tasso, interpreted the national and Christian sentiment in their stories of the events in what may be called an Occidental crusade—the undertakings of Charlemagne against the Saracens in Spain.

Torquato Tasso, son of Bernardo Tasso, the poet mentioned heretofore, and Porzia de' Rossi, of a noble family of Pistoia, was born March 11, 1544, in Sorrento. His infancy was passed there and at Salerno. In 1552, the Viceroy of Naples having declared Prince Ferrante Sanseverino a rebel and his fiefs forfeit, Bernardo, who

was in the service of the Prince, went into exile with him and was despoiled of his property, including his house in Salerno. His wife was therefore obliged to betake herself to Naples alone, where she was dependent upon her relatives. But she did not relax her care for the education of her son; she sent him for two years to the school of Jesuits. But, being cruelly treated by her brother, she had to repair to a convent, sending the little Torquato to his father at Rome, where he continued his studies. But in 1556, the Viceroy having invaded the Pontifical territory, he was placed for security with relatives at Bergamo, and shortly afterward he rejoined his father, who had found protection with Guidobaldo II, Duke of Urbino. Arts and letters flourished at that court then, as in the period immortalized by Castiglione; and it appears that the magnificent castle called the Imperial, in the neighboring town of Pesaro, inspired the young poet with the description of the palace of the Cortesia, which is in the *Rinaldo*. He had a habit of listening to the instruction given to the young prince by renowned masters, and his mind was strengthened by the study of mathematics. At the same time, he was becoming expert in knightly arts necessary to the perfect gentleman. In Urbino he knew famous men of letters, certainly to his advantage, and about 1558 he made his first experiments in lyric poetry.

In 1559 Torquato went to Venice, where his father was carrying his *Amadigi* through the press in that great center of printing and libraries. Here he continued his studies with special attention to the classics, while he aided his father in his literary occupations and frequented the society of Venier, Molin, Girolamo Ruscelli, Paolo and Aldo Manuzio, and other men of worth —all this with such results that Bernardo even then dared to hope that his son would make a "great man." To this time, it seems, the first attempts at *Rinaldo* and

Jerusalem Delivered are to be assigned. In Venice Giovan Maria Verdizzotti, an ecclesiastic and litterateur of some fame, author of lyrics in Italian and Latin, advised the young Torquato to cultivate the epic in the classic manner, at the same time studying Ariosto for style; Danese Cattaneo, a sculptor and poet of reputation, persuaded him to undertake the *Rinaldo*. And in 1559-'60 Torquato wrote, in all probability, the beginning of a poem on the deliverance of Jerusalem; but, realizing the difficulty and vastness of the subject, he composed in the meantime, in order to "make himself to know," the *Rinaldo*, easier and shorter.

In 1560 his father entered him at the University of Padua, where he attended against his will to the study of the Pandects. He consoled himself by frequenting the houses of Speroni and Giovan Vincenzo Pinelli, celebrated literati, and still more by singing *di Rinaldo gli ardori e i dolci affanni* ("The ardors and the sweet afflictions of Rinaldo"). But his martyrdom was of short duration; the next year Bernardo allowed him to take the course in philosophy and eloquence. So Torquato had the opportunity to learn from Sigonio the Aristotelian precepts to which he sought to conform his *Rinaldo*. That poem was published at Venice in the summer of 1562, and brought great praise and fame to the author, who was but eighteen years of age.

The third year of study Tasso passed at Bologna, but he did not complete the fourth; for in January, 1564, convicted of having written certain satires, he was obliged to flee. He was then received at Padua by the young Prince Scipione Gonzaga, who had instituted an academy in his house, and in this he read some verses, written in part for Lucrezia Bendidio, a noble maiden of Ferrara, known to him the first time he was in Padua, and in part for Laura Peperara with whom he fell in love at Mantua in the holidays of 1564. He finished

his studies the following year, and entered the service of Cardinal Luigi d'Este in Ferrara, without any definite office, but with full leisure to continue the poem on the liberation of Jerusalem, which he had taken up again. Here his facile and limpid vein of poetry, his fine presence, his manners of the gentleman expert in knightly arts, rendered him highly acceptable at the court of Duke Alfonso II. And the discourses that he read at the Academy of Ferrara, among them some quite noteworthy on the heroic poem, acquired for him a reputation for learning. He was for some time in France with the Cardinal (1570-71); then he entered into the number of the household of the Duke, first temporarily, then, in January, 1672, with a regular stipend, but always without fixed duties. In this time falls the composition of the *Aminta,* which he wrote and put upon the stage on his return from a journey to Rome with the Duke; but neither the effort spent upon this drama nor other journeys in 1573-'5 deterred him from finishing his great poem. The *Gerusalemme Liberata* was completed in April, 1575.

The work of composing was finished, but not that of considering and revising. Doubts of every kind, especially in matters of faith, a natural product of the times, assailed the poet when he had hardly lifted his hand from the work. In the same year he asked the learned Pinelli to examine the poem canto by canto, and was at Bologna to consult the inquisitor concerning his religious scruples. He feared the censure and the scandal that would be raised by the loves and the enchantments inserted in a great Christian epic; and he thought to avoid such a result by giving them a symbolic interpretation, making an allegory of all the poem, which in 1576 he set forth "most minutely." Nor was this enough. He went to Rome, and asked many authoritative literati there to subject his poem to a most

thorough revision. This took a long time; because the judges in whose hands he had voluntarily placed himself —to wit, Silvio Antoniano, Speroni, Pier Angelio da Barga, a Latinist of reputation, Flaminio de' Nobili, and Scipione Gonzaga—took the task much too seriously, especially the first named, who, more pedantic than the others, would have liked to transform the *Gerusalemme* directly into a religious poem, suitable for reading in a nunnery. These obstacles embittered Tasso, justly fond of the most beautiful creation of his genius—indeed, his mind was upset by them. In May, 1576, he returned from Modena, where he had passed the Easter, and was taken ill; and his health was hardly reëstablished when the blow of a staff on his head, treacherously given out of rancor by an attaché of the court, aggravated his mental disorder.

After this, although at Modena, at Ferrara, at Comacchio, he continued to write sonnets and other verses, which made him welcome not only among ladies and gentlemen, but among the literati as well, Tasso gave frequent and grave signs of madness, produced by religious delusions and by mania in regard to persecution. He saw enemies everywhere; he feared that he had fallen into heresy; in June, 1577, he wished again to be examined by the inquisitor, who absolved him, but did not succeed in quieting the mind fixed in the thought that people were deceiving him to leave him in sin. It is torture to follow that splendid intellect in its wanderings! On the evening of June 17, while he was imparting his anxieties to the Princess Lucrezia, believing that he was spied upon by a servant, who perhaps was watching over him, he drew a dagger upon him. For his own security and that of others, he was confined, first in a small room of the palace, then in the convent of St. Francesco. The night of July 27 he succeeded in escaping, and reached Sorrento, a fugitive and beggar.

There he was lovingly received by his sister Cornelia, and recovered his reason. He went to Rome with Cardinal Luigi and the ambassador of the Este; he asked to be taken back into the court of the Duke, which was granted; and he returned to Ferrara. But there was no remedy; he was to have peace only in the tomb. Without any cause, he fled again July 1, 1578, and wandered through various cities. He was always on foot, and crossed at last into Piedmont, so badly clothed that at Turin the guards of the gate refused him admittance. But he was at last permitted to enter because a friend, Angelo Ingegneri, became security for him. Joining the Marquis Filippo d'Este, General of the Duke of Savoy, he seemed to regain a little peace. Of this time are some poems and most beautiful prose pieces that do him honor. But in February, 1579, without notifying anyone, he took flight again, and returned to Ferrara in miserable plight. The Duke was celebrating his third nuptials, and had too many other things to do to give audience to a poor maniac. No attention was paid to him, and he broke out publicly into such insane invective that he was taken, shut up in the hospital of St. Anna and put in chains.

For seven years the poet was kept in this asylum for madmen, now assailed by black melancholy, by frenzy, by hallucinations; now intent to write, with complete lucidity of mind, dialogues, discourses, and innumerable rhymes. He was not held in strict confinement; he had the privilege of visits from friends, from princes, from famous men of letters, among them Montaigne; he was sometimes taken to walk, to Lenten services, and to festivals at court. But the sudden frenzies to which he was subject were dangerous; and therefore the many friends whom he besought to obtain his release could not grant his request. Hence a continuous mental struggle, embittered by the action of unscrupu-

lous publishers, who issued his writings in mutilated forms, while he was powerless to prevent it.

In 1580 fourteen cantos of the *Jerusalem Delivered* were published in Venice, entitled *Il Goffredo* ("Godfrey"). This induced Ingegneri, who may have had a better copy, to republish it the following year; and in 1581 two editions were published in Ferrara by another friend of Tasso, who could make use of the autograph copy. These unauthorized publications were offensive to the poet, but fortunate for us. Of his own will he would have given us only the poem as it came from the Roman revisers, that is, the *Gerusalemme Conquistata* which is the title of the poem in the form to which it had been reduced by his successive acts of penitence, and in which he desired it to be read—a form which he labored to prove superior in every respect to the one issued against his will, but which posterity has justly buried in oblivion.

The last years that Tasso passed at the hospital were embittered by the violent literary controversy over his poem, which was hardly published before it was subjected to censure as well as praise. In 1584 a little work published by Camillo Pellegrino with the purpose of proving the *Gerusalemme* superior to the *Furioso,* gave the signal for a grand battle between the partisans of Ariosto and those of Tasso. In this the poet himself was constrained to take part, having been venomously assailed, especially by the Florentine Leonardo Salviati; this he did by an *Apologia,* sensible and able, like the other writings of this marvelous madman.

In July, 1586, Vincenzo Gonzaga, Lord of Mantua, obtained permission to take the famous recluse of St. Anna to his court. There he lived for some time in tranquillity, and wrote, among other pieces, the *Torrismondo,* published in 1587. But his restlessness soon returned, and he resumed his wanderings through Italy.

In 1588 he was at Naples, guest of the monks of Mt. Olivet, in honor of whom he wrote the first book of a poem in octaves, *Il Monte Oliveto.* He passed the following years at Rome, Florence, Mantua, Naples, always unsatisfied, always troubled, often ill, but indefatigably applying himself to literary work. Of this period is his poem on the Creation, *Il Mondo creato,* noteworthy for many reasons; and at this time he published the *Gerusalemme Conquistata* (1593), dedicated to his hosts and protectors, Cardinals Cinzio and Pietro Aldobrandini, nephews of the new Pope, Clement VIII. He was at Naples when he was summoned by the Pope to receive in Campidoglio the poetic laurel that had been decreed to him. He went to Rome, but arrived in feeble condition and fell seriously ill before the coronation could take place. At his request he was carried to the convent of St. Onofrio on the Janicular Hill, to receive the benefit of the wholesome air; and there, on April 25, 1595, he closed his unhappy life. He was honored by the Pope with imposing obsequies, attended by all the literati in Rome.

The literature left by Tasso is varied and abundant. As a lyric poet he is the most productive of the century; and, though his *canzoniere* are modeled upon Petrarch's, still he is among the most original, by his flowing style, the exuberance of ornament, and the variety of content. His verses may be divided into amorous, heroic and sacred. Of the first class, those in which the sentiment is not shackled by the artificiality of the form rise to the height of lyric excellence; but they are for the most part expressions of courtly gallantry; and in the madrigals the tenuity of thought is ill disguised by the elegance of phrase. Again, the emptiness and coldness of the heroic pieces in praise of this or that personage are hidden under erudition, allegory and charming rhet-

oric. The sacred poems, springing from most sincere and ardent sentiment, shine with much greater luster.

Le sette giornate del Mondo creato ("The Seven Days of Creation"), in blank verse, is not exempt from monotony and prolixity; but in singing the origin of created things from the Christian point of view, Tasso compares favorably, in some passages, with Lucretius. As a prose-writer he was among the most famous of the century. In the philosophic dialogues, written for the most part during his imprisonment at St. Anna, where so great a part is transfused with his mind and heart, there is a singular intentness of the psychic faculties, as well as lucidity of thought, sometimes even too subtle. In these he develops, as Cesare Guasti well remarked, "that philosophic doctrine which held the field for more than a century: Aristotelian in principle, in form Platonic, and afraid, in those days of Protestant and Catholic reform, both of denying too much and of conceding too much; pagan in method and theory, though Christian in purpose."

In the form of dialogue and in florid and ornate style, he discussed also historic and literary questions. He wrote orations, funeral eulogies, and didactic discourses in great numbers. In his letters, amounting to more than 1500, he left a precious mirror of his soul and of his genius. For the letters, worthy to stand beside those of Annibal Caro even by their noble self-restraint, while they resemble Latin models, serve to reflect the emotions inspired by sorrowful events of their author's life.

But Tasso lives gloriously through the centuries in his *Gerusalemme Liberata.* His *Rinaldo,* which is a sort of preamble to his great work, should be considered in connection with it. In *Rinaldo* the young poet, imagining a simple plot with which episodes and accessories could easily be interwoven, aimed to reconcile unity of action—essential, by Aristotle's theory, to epic poetry—

with the freedom of invention proper to romantic poetry. It is a short poem in *ottava rima,* revealing youthful enthusiasm in its glowing colors and fluid and harmonious verse, and containing the germs of many episodes of the *Jerusalem Delivered,* besides images and turns of phrase and rhymes that reappear in the longer epic.

But the *Jerusalem Delivered,* written with the same intent, is a work of quite other structure, import and material. The subject was new and opportune at a time when Islamism was threatening Europe; when the standards of art were well settled—defined by the author himself in three *Discorsi sull' arte poetica ed in particolare sopra il poema eroico* ("Discourses on Poetic Art, and Particularly on the Heroic Poem"), in which he shows how, even in this class of poems, enchantments, love-affairs, and adventures can have ample space, provided that "it is one, and one the form and the design," and provided that things "are conjoined in such a manner that one depends necessarily, or seems to depend, upon another, so that if a single part is taken away or changed in place the whole is ruined." According to this theory, the *Gerusalemme* is in fact an organic work.

In this poem Tasso made use not only of the old chronicles of the Crusades, especially that of William of Tyre, but also of the *Italia liberata* of Trissino, and profited largely from both classic and romantic sources. In truth, the plot just outlined has close analogies with those of the *Iliad* and the *Æneid.* Rinaldo corresponds to Achilles, Argante to Hector and to Turnus; the pious Godfrey and the pious Æneas resemble each other. At the same time, Armida is Alcina; the wizard Ismeno differs little from the wizard Atlante. The fusion of the Virgilian and the Homeric with the Ariostesque is constant and felicitous; and, as the best of the poem consists of the episodes of love, of the vivid and altogether human representations of feminine character—

the impassioned Erminie, the brave Clorinda, the alluring Armida—that element which is of the epic true and proper owes its fortune to that which is romantic. "Imperfect romance, imperfect epic," as Guido Mazzoni says, "the book gathers into itself and interweaves the variety of the one with the unity of the other, unfolding all with a slow elegiac melody anticipating the pathetic tone of modern art." The troubled soul of the poet is reflected in his poem; hence the language of love has often a plaintive tenderness. In certain idyllic and sentimental passages of the *Gerusalemme* we meet once more the author of the *Aminta.*

Many have pointed out the tinsel in Tasso's work, among others Boileau, arbiter of good taste in France. He is not wrong, in truth; for there is an excess of imagery in the *Gerusalemme,* united to matter often artificial and an inappropriate luxuriance of antithesis and rhetorical elegance. But these defects cannot obscure the great beauties, nor do they prevent us from enjoying the harmony of line and the Spanish dignity of the stanzas, so consonant to the majesty of the epic. Torquato Tasso stands at the gate of the new age and is its harbinger.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DECLINE OF LETTERS AND THE RISE OF SCIENTIFIC STUDIES

IN the first half of the seventeenth century, Italy, abased under the foreign yoke, bled by Spanish governors, racked by the power of a corrupt and lawless nobility, afflicted by the brutishness and superstition of the populace, was naturally incapable of pursuing literary work with vigor and fruitfulness, and decay of art kept pace with political decadence.

In poesy, the forms that had displayed the rank luxuriance of their flowering during the classic age or at the time of the Counter-Reformation, still kept, amid the autumnal yellow, a streak of green, yet how withered, dry and wan! An acute and restless desire for novelty took possession of Italian versifiers; and, leaving the manner of Tasso, which had been in lyric poetry for the second half of the century what Bembo's was for the first, Gabriello Chiabrera and Giambattista Marino ventured into untried paths aside from the highway of Petrarchism, the former keeping the classics in view and following the Grecians, the latter carried away on the wings of unbridled fantasy.

Gabriello Chiabrera (1552-1638), of Savona, lived honorably and tranquilly, alternating pleasant leisure in his native city with temporary sojourns at the courts of the Medici, the Gonzaga, and Carlo Emanuele I of Savoy, who rewarded generously the offspring of his muse. He wrote poetry "to please;" hence warm and sincere inspiration is lacking in his verses. In many *canzoni,* and most in the heroic poems, where he took up the Pindaric lyre, exalter of the Geroni and the Teroni, in order to glorify one or another of his Mæcenases, he labored vainly to supply that deficiency, by exaggerations, by hyperbole, by a confusion of inventions and mythologic images. Better are his Horatian pieces, in blank verse, preluding those of Gozzi and Parini; better, in a different style, are his little didactic and narrative poems in hendecasyllables freely rhymed. But the name of Chiabrera would not have come down to us as that of one of the most noteworthy poets of the seventeenth century had it not been permanently attached to certain graceful *odicine* or *canzonette* in the short and flexible measures of the French Anacreontics of Ronsard, and other versifiers of the *Pléiades.* In this light class of poetry, infinitely better adapted to the quality of his

mind and genius, he was more successful than many who cultivated it before him, and gained the admiration even of the moderns, although it is not immune from effeminacy. His example was followed with success by Ottavio Rinuccini (1564-1621), a Florentine, who also wrote light *canzonette,* as well as some notable pieces in blank verse, besides sapphics and sacred odes.

Giambattista Marino (1569-1625), a Neapolitan, rose to fame as a great poet, seeking novelty in the extravagant and wonderful, rather than in rare meters and in imitations. He had a fervid genius and a mobile, exuberant fancy; whence, "the marvelous" being sought as the end in art, it is not easy to describe the excesses to which he was carried by the mania to dazzle and amaze his readers by a species of art pyrotechnics. In the *Lira* ("Lyre"), a collection of "rhymes amorous, maritime, pastoral, heroic, lugubrious, moral, sacred and various," imitations of all kinds from ancients and moderns, Italians and foreigners, are fused in a new manner, recognizable among a thousand; with glowing colors and resonant verse, it is voluptuously sensual in the expression of love, though finely cultured in imagery and in style. Redundancy rather than bombast is the peculiar characteristic of Marino in the *Lira,* in the *Sampogna* ("Reed") in the *Galleria* ("Gallery") and others; for the chief of a school is not to be confounded with awkward followers, who exaggerate his faults, as is always the case with imitators. Sadly famous are the grotesque metaphors the *ampullæ et sesquipedalia verba* of the Marinists. They are also the characteristics popularly known of that malady of artistic taste, which, having broken out with special virulence in the *secento* (seventeenth century), is called secentism. But in Italy the hyperbole was only an ephemeral effervescence upon the constant base of *preziosità,* that is, of refined gallantry; and in Marino and the Marinists it represents an attempt to

achieve the new by grafting the subtle and the frivolous on the sublime; they laboriously sought great beauties, and succeeded only in finding extravagant conceits.

The subtle and the frivolous abound in the manner of Marino, as generally in different degrees throughout European poetry of the time. Nor did he need to go beyond the Alps for examples and models of *preziosità,* of which the most pleasing manifestations at the time were in France; since it is a malady essentially Italian, as is also Italian wholly the credit of having taught Europe the refined elegance of court manners. In the *ruelles* (literally, alcoves—predecessors of the *salons*), where ladies reclined on soft couches planning new fashions and coining new phrases, and going into ecstasies over Mlle. de Scudéry's *Carte de Tendre* ("Map of the Kingdom of Tenderness"), or over the Abbé d'Aubignac's *Relazione veritiera del regno di Galanteria* ("Veritable Story of the Kingdom of Gallantry"), likewise in the Hotel Rambouillet, where an Italian lady presided, and where they wrote masterpieces of *coquetterie,* the books read and profited by were the commentary of Ficino on the *Simposio,* and Equicola's treatise upon the nature of love. The *galante,* admired by the Society of the Précieuses, and parodied upon the stage by Molière, is apparently a near kinsman of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* ("The Courtier").

Marino indulged largely in these tastes. Therefore there is nothing strange in the festal reception given in his honor at the court of Marie de' Medici at Paris, where, after many invitations, he went, in 1615, and stayed eight years. He was the more welcome because he had become famous, not only by his poetry, but also by the honors he had received from Carlo Emanuele I, whose secretary of state he was; also by his bitter polemics with Gaspare Murtola, ducal secretary and versifier, and with Tommaso Stigliani, and by the imprison-

ment he had undergone for some time in Turin. The Hotel Rambouillet opened its doors to him, and in that hotbed of *preziosismo* he found models to imitate and poets desiring to imitate him.

Of these last there was a superfluity in Italy, and of what were they not capable? Sometimes they were inspired to sing—and to sing in all seriousness—of ladies cross-eyed or otherwise deformed, sometimes of the little creatures nesting in the golden locks of the beloved! The peninsula was deluged with a flood of madrigals like those of Marino, singly or collected in volumes, on the most varied subjects, from the adoration of Christ to the poodles wagging their tails on the knees of noble ladies. With Claudio Achillini, and with some others, metaphorical speech became a habit of mind from which they could not free themselves in their poetry.

Naturally, not all favored such extravagances. Maestro Stopino (Cesare Orsini) derided them in the *Capriccia macaronica;* Tassoni, Boccalini, Rosa, and others, did not spare the lash on the sesquipedalian poetasters of the metaphor. The lecentious boldness of the subjects treated by Marino was displeasing to many—among his own imitators, to Girolamo Preti; among the poets who took an opposite path in art, to Cebà and to Ciàmpoli. Ansaldo Cebà (1565-1623), a Genoese patrician, a follower not altogether negligible of the old Petrarchian tradition, resembled Chiabrera in method and in style. Giovanni Ciàmpoli (1590-1643), a Florentine, while he imitated the classics and Pindar, censured the overflowing immorality of the lyrics of his time in a *Poetica sacra* in verse.

Quite otherwise noteworthy than these two, but one also averse to the vanity and licentiousness they condemned, as well as to the style of Marino, was the poet Fulvio Testi (1593-1646), of Ferrara, a man of lively genius but restless nature. In 1617, while he was

at the court of the Este in Modena, he dared to publish a poem hailing Carlo Emanuele I of Savoy as the longed-for restorer of the fortunes of Italy. Afterward, not fancying the discomforts of exile, he retracted, asked and received pardon, rose to high honors, and fulfilled important diplomatic missions. Still, he desired a larger field for his activity, and the desire was fatal to him. For, in 1646, the Duke, having heard of certain manœuvres of his to enter the service of the French, caused him to be imprisoned, and while in prison he died. This unsteadiness of character is reflected in his poetry, which is varied in subject and tone. He began as an imitator of Marino; but afterward he repudiated his juvenile rhymes, deserting to the camp of the imitators of Pindar and Horace. And to Leopardi he appears to have had many of the good qualities of Horace—a judgment to be taken with discretion, since, together with its solemnity and its dignity, Testi's most lauded poetry shows also considerable exaggeration of style. But in some of his pieces on civic subjects there are new and very felicitous movements.

Among the opponents of Marino, Tommaso Stigliani (1573-1651), of Matera, has already been named. In his verses there is some value not to be passed over; and in contrast with the common fashion of that time is his ridicule of the metaphors of the Marinists; still, this might have arisen more from rancor than from clear and well defined artistic principle. This principle was held later by Pirro Schettini (1630-1678), of Aprigliano in Calabria, who opposed the school of Marino. He took Petrarch for his model, and among the Petrarchists, Di Costanzo. The tumid and artificial manner of the celebrated Neapolitan poet was avoided without any overt anti-Marinism, by some poets contemporary with Schettini—that is, belonging to the generation following the one just mentioned. These poets, who were much more

famous and more able than Schettini, were Redi, Menzini and Da Filicaia.

Francesco Redi (1626-1698), of Arezzo, was at the same time a physician, a naturalist, and a writer of elegant prose and verse. He took delight in literary study, in philology of the Romance languages, and in dialectology, studies that were about to rise to importance. It is to his honor that he appreciated their value. In 1666 he began to lecture in the Florentine Studio on the Tuscan language, and had among his hearers Menzini, Da Filicaia and Alessandro Marchetti, who afterward published a fine version of Lucretius in blank verse. The Accademia della Crusca numbered him among the most able coöperators in the new edition of the Dictionary; he was an important member from the beginning of the Academy of the Cimento, founded in 1657. Constrained by the strife between the Grand Duke Cosimo III, and his eldest son, Ferdinand, to row between two currents, Redi did not reveal a character of adamant. But he was upright, and found relief from the vexations of court life in severe scientific studies, from which perhaps he derived his aversion to the narrowness of the schools, even in letters. As a poet he lives by a famous dithyramb; for his love-sonnets are lacking, with all their elegant correctness, in warmth of affection, and the flowers that he transplanted from the gardens of the *dolce stil novo* have lost all perfume. In the dithyramb, on the contrary, the correspondence of the rhythm with the thought is admirable and admirable is its sparkling brilliance from beginning to end. It is entitled *Bacco in Toscana* ("Bacchus in Tuscany"); it represents the god as celebrating the wines of Tuscany one by one; and the meter varies continually, as if to imitate the increasing unsteadiness of the deity's gait.

Benedetto Menzini (1646-1704), of Florence, was a pupil and friend of Redi. As a lyric poet he took a

course different from Chiabrera's, Pindar's and Anacreon's; he celebrated glorious warlike enterprises—the deliverance of Vienna, the conquest of Buda, and others; he also wrote little odes resembling those that go under the name of the old man of Teos [Anacreon]. In many passages he recalls Tasso, and Sannazzaro's *Arcadia* was his inspiration for the *Accademia Tusculana,* of mingled prose and verse. A judicious eclecticism is the prominent characteristic of his verses, among which the most important are seventeen elegies in *terza rima* on various subjects and in frank imitation of Dante. The *Arte poetica,* also in tercets, and in five books, the result of much care and reflection, offers a notable example of a class of composition then popular in Europe. For the *literati* of the various nations in the seventeenth century showed a common tendency to give receipts for the beautiful, and to play Hippocrates to ailing poetry. After Boileau, an abundant flowering of Arts of Rhetoric in prose and rhyme appeared throughout Europe.

Vincenzo da Filicaia (1642-1707), a Florentine, is the least free of the three mentioned above from the faults of the century. He takes delight in sonorous language and in rhetorical artifices. Even in the *canzoni* on the siege and deliverance of Vienna, and in the sonnets to Italy, among these the famous

Italia, Italia, o tu cui feo la sorte

to which his name is especially linked, there is something forced in the style, and as always happens with the forced, the result is an effect of falseness. To round periods, to arrange words cunningly, to take more thought for the sound than for the idea, was for him, and will be for others, the thing most to be sought for in poetry. But it is not to be inferred that his verses are all dross; on the contrary, some are inspired by sincere sentiment and by a fervid piety almost cloistral.

Alessandro Guidi (1650-1712), of Pavia, has a strong resemblance to Filicaia. He is especially noted for the novelty of his *canzoni libere* (free songs—that is, free as to measure and rhyme), of which form Leopardi afterward made admirable use. Guidi, too, has redundance of epithet, and sports a Pindaric magnificence not seldom out of keeping with the subject; but in form and structure his lines are terse and well considered.

As Tasso's lyric poetry was among the principal sources of inspiration for the greater part of the lyrics mentioned in this chapter, especially those of the first generation following him, so the many who cultivated epic poetry in its various forms were all influenced by the *Gerusalemme Liberata* ("Jerusalem Delivered").

The most important of these was Francesco Bracciolini (1566-1645), of Pistoia, who had neither great poetic genius nor finely educated taste, but much imagination, combined with great ease and fluency of expression. He wrote a little in every style—lyrics, heroic and religious poems, burlesque poems, pastoral compositions, tragedies, melodramas, letters in blank verse, and mythologic fables—all good, commonplace, without forced conceits, but with the mark of mediocrity. And the art of the century was of this nature, so that he may be said to give us an adequate example of the methods and characters of the poetry of his time. In the *Croce racquistata* ("The Cross Regained") he sang of the war of Heraclius, Emperor of the East, against the Persians to recover the wood of the Cross; the plot is well constructed; the style as well is imitated from Tasso. The *Bulgaria convertita,* written by Bracciolini in his old age, is a more feeble work.

The rest of the copious epico-romantic work of this century will be found by the student to divide itself into distinct cycles or groups. There are poems Biblical, poems mythological, poems epico-religious, poems on

subjects of legendary history—those on Attila, for example—poems upon contemporaneous events, poems in which the romantic or chivalric element exceeds the heroic, and, finally, poems on the discovery of America. This important event, so much of whose glory belongs to Italy, did not give rise then or afterward to any great or notable addition to our literature. The best on the subject is a fragment by Tassoni, *l'Oceano.*

In the other categories some poems deserve mention, as follows: The *Amedeide* of Chiabrera, upon a supposed expedition of Amadeus V of Savoy against the Turks, who were menacing Rhodes; the *Conquisto di Granata* by Girolamo Graziani, a passage of which Leopardi seems to have had in mind when he imagined his *Consalvo;* and the *Enrico* of Giulio Malmignati, which suggested some incidents to Voltaire for the *Henriade.* Above all these rises Marino's *Adone* ("Adonis") on a mythological subject, a mass of fantastic narrative and description, held together by barely a semblance of plot. Most varied elements are placed in it side by side rather than fused; the author has borrowed from the Greeks—especially from Nonno's *Dionisiaci*—from the Latins, from Italians, anterior and contemporary. But, notwithstanding the lack of originality, the confusion of form, the disgusting licentiousness—its worst defect—this vast poem, by the color and resonance of the verse, by the pictorial effect of some of its passages, by the feeling it shows for nature, is the most noteworthy product of our seventeenth-century poetry. Its importance is attested by the acrid literary contests to which it gave rise.

But the heroic poem could not reflect the life and manners of a society like ours in that century, because it was the opposite of heroic. Much more in consonance with the times was the poem heroi-comic—a form not new, but not yet hackneyed by use, or spoiled by abuse

—which, with humor often coarse and loud sarcasm, tore away the veil of idealized chivalry from grotesque, prosaic reality. A true poet, Alessandro Tassoni (1565-1635), cultivating this style of poetry, succeeded in producing a work of art still living and fresh to-day, the *Secchia rapita* ("Rape of the Bucket").

A bizarre intellect was this Modenese, subtle, pugnacious, and paradoxical. Tassoni passed a great part of his life at the courts of Rome, Turin and Modena, but vituperated and derided courtiers. He believed in the climacteric year and other superstitions; but in his writings he fought against blind prejudice by the light of reason, and inveterate error by the light of science. In the *Pensieri diversi* ("Diverse Thoughts") he discusses disconnected and unlike questions, moral, scientific, and literary, without any order and all in confusion—always attacking the principle of authority—sometimes puerile, but at other times acute, able, and with strange forecasts of truths since confirmed by science. In the *Considerazione sopra le rime del Petrarca,* not a philological work or a commentary properly so called, but a literary work "prompted by individual crotchets," he assails narrow Petrarchism with abundant erudition and stinging ridicule; it occasioned an ardent polemic, which threatened to be carried to excess. The *Secchia rapita* (1622) is so called from a bucket taken by the Modenese from Bologna in the thirteenth century, to recover which war was declared. The humor arises from odd anachronisms, grotesque types, as the Count of Culagna—an opprobrious caricature of Count Alessandro Brusantini, —and, more than all, from the contrast between the trivial occasion of the war and the epic form according to Aristotelian canons which is given to the poem, between the quite serious parts and the comic, at times thoroughly buffoon-like in mockery. All Olympus is moved for that bucket!

Tassoni's purpose in this poem was to parody the epic of his time with humor something like that of Aristophanes,—reckless and sometimes low. The *Scherno degli dei* ("Scorn of the Gods"), by Bracciolini, published four years earlier, but after the *Secchia* had been circulated in manuscript, belongs to the same heroi-comic class, but with substantial difference. It is not constructed in the guise of a serious poem, nor is it in part historical and in part imaginary; it is a fantastic burlesque, intended to deride the pagan Olympus, from which contemporary poets borrowed fictions, scattering, in his opinion, the "pernicious seed of false religion" in untutored minds. In the first fourteen cantos, thrown off in a very short time, he introduces two famous myths —the love of Venus and Mars and the love of Venus and Anchises. The last six cantos, badly connected with the preceding, relate the destruction of the gods by Death and other fantastic incidents. Both these poems are spirited and free in style and versification; but the *Secchia* is far superior by its unity of design, by the more artistic means to achieve the comic effect, by the fuller satiric element, and by certain figures and incidents that afford an image of the time.

Allied to the *Secchia rapita* are some other poems relating comically heroic enterprises of war. The *Asino* of the Paduan, Carlo Dottori (1618-1686), a writer prized for his lyrics and tragedies, resembles Tassoni's poem in that it develops historic action; it is founded upon an anachronism; it derives its title from the ass painted upon a standard taken by the Paduans from the Vicentians; a tone of pleasant serenity and many curious characters are to be found in it.

In the *Catorcio d'Anghiari* ("Padlock of Anghiari"), the cause of war between Anghiari and Borgo S. Sepolcro is a padlock. The author of it is Federico Nomi of Arezzo, author of verse of some merit. Bartolommeo

Corsini of Barberino di Mugello made a novel *Elisea* the cause of war in his *Torracchione desolato* ("Great Ruined Tower"). The *Catorcio* has no merit but that of language; but the *Torracchione,* having, like the *Secchia,* the structure of a heroic poem and a gay and mirthful style, does not lose greatly by comparison with its model. But much more celebrated is the *Malmantile racquistato,* by the painter Lorenzo Lippi (1606-1664), published posthumously in 1676. Like the *Torracchione* it takes its subject from an old castle, Malmantile; it is comic from beginning to end. Lippi—to whom, as Baldinucci said, nature had allotted a mirthful but honest vivacity and eccentricity—seasoned his story with witty inventions, and with Florentine jests and slang, on which Paolo Minucci and Antonmaria Biscioni made erudite philological annotations.

In an age of low morality and intellectual narrowness, a congenial soil is afforded for poetry grossly ludicrous. Giambattista Lalli (1572-1637), of Norcia, wrote profanations, rather than burlesque travesties, of the *Iliad* and the *Æneid.* The *Franceide* and the *Moscheide* are poems that present only a semblance of the heroi-comic, resembling the burlesque poems of the preceding century, without surpassing or even equaling the original *Gigantea.* All the other forms or classes of jocose poetry were cultivated as well. Pastoral poetry lost much of its savor and fragrance in Bracciolini's *Ravanello alla Nenciotta* and *Risposta della Nenciotta,* and in Francesco Baldovini's *Lamento di Cecco da Varlungo.* The pedantesque poetry introduced in the preceding century by Camillo Scroffa, better known by the name Fidenzio Glottocrisio Ludimagistro, dropped its satiric character and contented itself with laughter-provoking fun. And, finally, the subtlety, real and sometimes profound, of the macaronics of Folengo degenerated into the gross Latin of Maestro Stopino.

Less insipid seem to us the burlesque poems in the various dialects—especially the Neapolitan—of which Italy at this time had a profusion. Some good satire is to be found in the very diffuse *Frascherie* ("Fooleries") of Antonio Abati; in the essentially jocose poetry of Giambattista Ricciardi; in the sonnets of Francesco Ruspoli, pleasant to read for the Florentine style and the fine distinctions in the choice of words; and in Gianfrancesco Lazzarelli's work, gathered under the title *Cicceide*. Certain sonnets of Tassoni, surpassing in many respects the others of the century, are pure satires, or rather *maledici* in the manner of many works written in the sixteenth century and mentioned in their proper places. In satire, indeed, the seventeenth century cannot be said to have done badly; on the contrary, men of real genius expressed themselves in this kind of literature who, though they often followed the fashion of the times with hollow or perfunctory morality, like that of the later books of Juvenal, yet often wrote freely from the heart. The usual censure of women and the castigation of hypocrites are repeated to satiety in the satires of the time. But Rosa, Menzini, Sergardi and Soldani wrote some that are worthy to stand beside the best satires of the sixteenth century.

Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), of Naples, a great painter, full of genius, versatile, enamored of every artistic expression of the beautiful, and, while living in times inclined to baseness, scornful of every kind of vileness, shows vigor and candor in his satires in *terza rima*, and neither exaggeration nor affectation. The first satires, wherein he treats of music, poetry, and painting, are naturally the most attractive, as from the standpoint of the artist; and his observations on the defects of contemporary poetry may be called, if not new, acute and judicious.

Benedetto Menzini, already spoken of, is more caustic;

he abuses his enemies and uses rough language; for the rest, he is effective; his verse is easy and his rhymes are spontaneous. Ludovico Sergardi (1660-1726), of Siena, surpasses him in violence. Under the name of Quinto Settano, he assailed Gian Vincenzo Gravína with fury in his satires in the vernacular, and more felicitously in certain Latin satires of exquisite quality, which were widely circulated.

Jacopo Soldani (1579-1641), a Florentine and scientist of the school of Galileo, who was attached to the court of the Medici, is especially to be remembered for one of his satires defending the experimental method and the discoveries of Galileo against the charlatanry of the false peripatetics. His other satires are on commonplace subjects. More feeble are some satires of Michelangelo Buonarroti the younger (1568-1646), a Florentine and a nephew of the great architect. The five long satires of Ludovico Adimari, a Neapolitan, are declamatory and moralizing. Bartolommeo Dotti (1651-1713), of Brescia, whose evil-speaking cost him his life, wrote satires—some in the Venetian dialect—that are mordant but slovenly, even in the meter—quatrains of eights with alternate rhymes.

Complete and lamentable decadence marks the tragedy of this century. The forms of the classic drama and the precepts of Aristotle were adapted to spiritual subjects in a forced manner. The bizarre *comedias de santos* of the Spaniards were imitated. Episodes of the *Orlando Furioso* and of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* were reduced to dramatic form. A dramatic dress was given to events of contemporaneous history.

A certain breadth of conception gives value to the *Adamo* of Giambattista Andreini, which seems to have suggested to Milton the first idea of *Paradise Lost.* The *Aristodemo* of Dottori is not bad in plot and dramatization. The *Solimano* of Prospero Bonarelli, quite famous

in its day, is not lacking in well drawn characters and eloquent passages. But these are oases in the desert; in general, the seventeenth-century tragedy, sacred or profane, impassioned or *implesse,* deserves to rest in the profound oblivion that envelops it.

Nor did a more cheerful fate smile upon the pastoral drama, which Tasso and Guarini had raised to so high a plane of art. The *Pastor Fido,* susceptible by its complexity of greater amplification or development, was imitated more than the *Aminta,* gave occasion to literary controversies, kept a place of honor throughout the century, and inspired Guidobaldo Bonarelli, brother of the author of the *Solimano,* to write the *Filli di Sciro* ("Phyllis of Scyros"), which, despite its scant claim to originality, is, for certain exterior merits, still held in honor to-day.

Comedy, likewise, dragged out a languid and stinted life. Giambattista Della Porta (1535-1615), a Neapolitan, who restored to new life in his comedies the plots of Plautus and Terence, belongs properly to the close of the sixteenth century, although he is placed here because his influence upon the Italian stage was exerted in the first decades of the seventeenth. Among the numerous comedies of this age, more or less colorless and stupid, only two deserve to be noticed—besides those of Andreini, a famous actor, who tried to reduce to writing his improvised comedies. The two mentioned are *La Fiera* ("The Fair") and *La Tancia* by the Buonarroti mentioned before. The former is not so much a true and proper comedy as an animated representation of the come-and-go vivacity of a fair, made chiefly with the intention of gathering words and locutions of the living speech of Florence for the use of the Della Crusca dictionary. The other is a pastoral farce resembling those of the sixteenth century.

In the seventeenth century the best efforts of the

Italians, in the direction of the stage, were all turned to the "comedy of the arts" and to the musical drama or opera.

Several collections of the scenarii, which served as guides to the actors of the former in their improvisations, have come down to us. Some were new inventions, others were taken from Latin or sixteenth-century comedies; of course they were nothing but a mere outline; all the rest the actors, each of whom was accustomed to play continually a fixed rôle, took from memory, rich in phrases made and speeches prepared, or from a fertile fancy. The masks most used were those of the two old men, Pantaloon and Doctor Graziano; the captain, type of the bullying coward, who is not so much like the *miles gloriosus* of Plautus as like the popular caricature of the Spanish braggarts; and the two clowns, the clever servant, and the silly servant—Brighella and Arlecchino (Harlequin). For the most part, the characters in each comedy were ten—seven men and three women; that is, besides the masks just described, two lovers, two *prime donne* and a maidservant. The companies, roving about, were usually renewed every year. The actors, in public squares, or in palaces and courts, were accustomed to bid for applause with vulgar expedients—disguises, grimaces, cudgelings, buffoonery and obscenity.

The musical drama, or opera, is more important, on account of its later artistic development in Italy and in other countries, and the vigorous and flourishing life it enjoys to-day. Sprung from the pastoral stories, and from the *intermezzi* of the comedies, through the influence of the improved church music and the revived *canto monodico,* the musical drama had its cradle in Florence in the closing years of the sixteenth century in the work of a famous singer and poet of genius, Ottavio Rinuccini. With him was associated Jacopo Perí, a wonderful musician. The *Dafne* (1594) and the *Euridice* (1600), set to

music by Peri, enjoyed great success. For the same occasion as the *Euridice,* Giulio Caccini set to music a *Rapimento di Cefalo* ("Rape of Cephalus") by Chiabrera. Music to Rinuccini's *Arianna* was composed in part by Peri and in part by Claudio Monteverdi, the greatest musician of the seventeenth century, the true creator of dramatic music. From Florence the new drama spread throughout Italy and among other nations, departing from its primitive simplicity, drawing into itself new elements. Popes and cardinals promoted and favored it. In Venice it descended from the halls of the palaces into the public theater, among the people; then, going on to develop subjects mythological or romantic, it allied itself to comedy and drew from it life and spirit.

The prose of the seventeenth century was better than the poetry, some writers carrying on not unworthily the revived traditions of the sixteenth. In this statement the novel is not included; it flourished abundantly but with little artistic value. The one original novelist was Giovanni Battista Basile, who wrote fifty tales in the Neapolitan dialect. Neither does it include the immense number of romances—moral, political, social, and others, besides the heroi-gallant after the manner of Mlle. de Scudéry and other French romancers. But in history and kindred subjects Italy could boast, during this century, of such writers as Sarpi, Pallavicino, Bentivoglio, Dàvila, and Bartoli.

Fra Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623), a Venetian of a family of Friuli, possessed a broad and profound intellect, a steadfast character and great scientific and theological erudition. Having entered the service of his republic as "theologian and canonist" in 1606, he maintained its rights boldly against Paul V, who had laid it under an interdict, and thus incurred the displeasure of the Pope. His *Istoria del concilio tridentino* ("History of the Council of Trent"), published first in London in 1619, without

the author's consent, under the pseudonym of Pietro Soave Polano, is divided into eight books, covering the period from 1502 to 1564. He deals with his intricate subject, in which theological questions necessarily take a prominent part, without rhetoric or artifices of style, and with nervous and lucid conciseness. Errors in the stating of facts sometimes occur, and he is occasionally led by party spirit to express judgments not altogether impartial. But in the analysis of the disputes and decrees of the famous Council, the subtlety and precision of the scientist are revealed. The work of Sarpi, whatever may be thought of his religious and political tendencies, is a unique monument of thought and style.

Not less important is the history of the same Council that was written to confute Sarpi by Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino (1607-1667), a Roman, an austere and active prelate, rich in solid culture, a devoted student of style and language. Compiled from a great number of documents furnished by Pope Alexander VII, his history is of value for correcting Sarpi's in many particulars, though the zeal of the apologist often carries him beyond bounds in the censure of the work he is opposing. In form Pallavicino is the opposite of his predecessor; he is as elegant, ornate, and rhetorical as Sarpi is plain, concise, and nervous. But he has eloquent pages and the praises lavished upon him by the critic Giordani were in part deserved. Other writings of his are admired for grace of style united to clear and well constructed argument—*Del bene, L'arte della perfezione cristiana, Vita d'Alessandro VII,* and others. In view of these it was justly observed that Pallavicino, a Latinist, Della-Cruscan academician, and author of rhetorical and linguistic writings, contributed to free the treatment of religious subjects from the narrowness of scholastic forms.

Guido Bentivoglio (1579-1644), of Ferrara, is worthy to stand beside these two historians. Like Pallavicino,

he rose to very high rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In 1607 he was sent by Paolo V as apostolic nuncio to Flanders, where he stayed till 1615. During this time he collected material for his *Storia delle guerre di Fiandra* ("History of the Wars in Flanders"), written with care as to form, with excessive gravity, and without any truly adequate conception of the great event he undertook to describe, but careful, well arranged and rich in statements of fact. His name is especially connected with this work; but his *Memorie,* composed during the latter years of his life, are more attractive, by reason of their lively style and the picture they give of the pontifical court of the time. He wrote fluently in his hours of leisure from political affairs; but none the less all his work is marked by clearness and discernment.

Another historian of foreign contemporary history was Enrico Caterino Dàvila (1576-1631), of Piove di Sacco in Paduan territory. His two baptismal names attest the gratitude of his family toward Henri III and Catherine de' Medici. After the death of his royal protectors, he took up the profession of arms and fought under the Duke of Montpensier, remaining in France more than fifteen years. During this time he gathered documents and information for his *Istoria delle guerre civili di Francia* ("History of the Civil Wars in France") from 1558 until the death of Henri III, in 1598. It was published in Venice in 1630, and is noteworthy, not only for its order and clearness, but for its vivid descriptions of trans-Alpine men, places, and customs, during an eventful period in the history of our neighbors. Dàvila wrote, if not always with purity of language, yet with natural sprightliness, giving more attention to facts than to words; and to these excellencies he succeeded in uniting the impressiveness of Livy, by means of his frequent disquisitions and descriptions. Hence the fame of his

work outside of Italy, and the reason for its translation into French, Spanish, English, and Latin.

The *Storia della Compagnia di Gesú* ("History of the Jesuits"), by Daniello Bartoli (1608-1685), of Ferrara, continues to be read for the graces of style and language, in which respects it is almost unique. This work, divided into parts according to the places to which it refers, tells the story of the Jesuit missions in Asia and of their operations in England and Italy. It is more than anything else a rhetorical exercise; but it has "dashes of prose," though the author is always in search of more florid elegance. Bartoli was a stylist, and understood all the arts for rounding the period in a scholarly manner. He was afterward a lord and master of the language, as he proved in his treatise, *Il torto e il diritto del "non si puo"* ("The Wrong and The Right of the *'Non si puo'"*), in which, while he attacked the dogmatism and the pedantry of those who could see no salvation outside the *trecentists,* he claimed for writers a liberty verging on lawlessness. But he paid too much attention to form and too little to substance and ideas; hence Giordani, his warmest admirer, was obliged to say: "You will keep in mind innumerable brilliant phrases of his, but no sentiment will you repeat; the admirable is in the garments, not in the person." His great work contains almost nothing of intrinsic value except the descriptions of marvelous events, of countries, and of customs.

At the same time with these historians, honest and in general correct, there was no lack of adventurers, who, professing to relate the history of their times, made merchandise of their pens. Gregorio Leti, of Milan, incredibly industrious and voluminous, was the most notorious of these. Others have left copious and valuable information in confused form, as Vittorio Siri of Parma in the fifteen volumes of his *Mercurio politico.* Others

gathered material for the literary history of single cities and regions, or treated of religious and academic corporations. Gian Nicio Eritreo, otherwise Gian Vittorio Rossi, a Roman, included all Italy in his celebrated *Pinacotheca,* in elegant Latin, containing about three hundred sketches of persons living in his time, many of them being known to him. This and his other writings are sources of history not to be neglected. Others that should not be passed over are the *Trattato dell' arte istorica* ("Treatise on the Art of History") by Agostino Mascardi (1590-1640), of Sarzana, which has acute observations amid its overflowing erudition; and the *Istoria della città e del Regno di Napoli* ("History of the City and Kingdom of Naples"), by Francesco Capecelatro (1595-1670), of Naples, author also of an important *Diario* upon the tumults of the insurrection of Masaniello; and two works touching the history of the fine arts, praiseworthy for style and language—the *Vite dei pittori antichi* ("Lives of the Old Painters"), by Dati, and *Notizie dei professori di disegno* ("Notes on the Professors of Design"), by Balduccini.

Carlo Roberto Dati (1619-1676), a Florentine, and a man of choice and varied learning, labored unweariedly on the third edition of the Della Crusca Dictionary—the first edition was issued at the end of 1612—pursued scientific studies, and in the lives of the four most famous Grecian painters, Zeuxis, Protogenes, Parrhasius and Apelles, added to much erudition perspicuity and elegance of diction. Filippo Baldinucci (1624-1696), another Florentine, compiled a very useful *Vocabolario toscano dell' arte del disegno* ("Tuscan Dictionary of the Arts of Design"); and in the *Notizie* just recorded he arranged the material conveniently by centuries and decades, furnished copious and exact information about the artists he was discussing, and wrote with grace and richness of language. Finally, Francesco Negri, Francesco

Carletti, and Pietro della Valle—the last-named a learned geographer and daring explorer—left accounts of journeys, worthy of study for many reasons.

We saw in the preceding chapter that Giovanni Botero admirably interpreted the political spirit of his time—the close of the sixteenth century. It can be said that this spirit remained unchanged in the seventeenth century. Hence the Piedmontese politician continued to have admirers and followers. Traiano Boccalini (1556-1613), of Loreto, had a mind essentially critical and inclined to satire, and he disdained everything like baseness and hypocrisy; therefore he was in full and open contrast to the age in which he lived; he was not under restraint from any party, and had no prejudices as to the examination of political institutions and laws; and he brought to his ingenious and singular work freedom of judgment, keenness of analysis, and irony proceeding from unaffected pessimism. The *Ragguagli di Parnaso* ("News from Parnassus"), in plot is not unlike the pleasant rhymes of Caporali, and the many fantastic travels and triumphs of the poets of the preceding centuries. Boccalini imagines in it that *virtuosi* in arts, letters, science, arms, and politics, of every time and nation, present themselves at the same time before Apollo, who reigns on Mount Parnassus; that there they discuss various questions, mostly of politics and literature, and that the god finally gives his decisions. The official gazetteer, by whom the reports of the discussions and deliberations on Parnassus are sent to the world, is Boccalini himself. These reports have the form and exterior character of the *Avvisi,* or "fly-sheets"—a rudimental form of journalism—by means of which it was the custom to publish and circulate various kinds of information throughout Italy. There are observations of every kind, without close connection, sometimes subtle and judicious, at other times insipid or paradoxical; for the most

part they were satirical attacks on the political or literary prejudices of the time, and naturally had great if not altogether deserved success, and numerous confuters as well as imitators and translators.

The other works of Boccalini have similar excellencies and defects—originality of invention, freedom of thought, vivacity of wit, joined to carelessness of style, lack of purity in language, and a certain tendency to paradox. *La pietra del paragone* ("The Touchstone"), written out of hatred for the Spaniards, is like an appendix to the *Ragguagli,* essentially political in content, and was also bitterly assailed. In the commentaries upon Tacitus, his favorite author, Boccalini passes from one subject to another, suggested by words or sentences in the Roman history, and dilates in particular upon forms of government, among which he prefers a modified Republican government, like that of Venice, and upon the duties of princes. He gives a great number of examples from modern history in support of his political theories, which are an invaluable aid to a knowledge of his period.

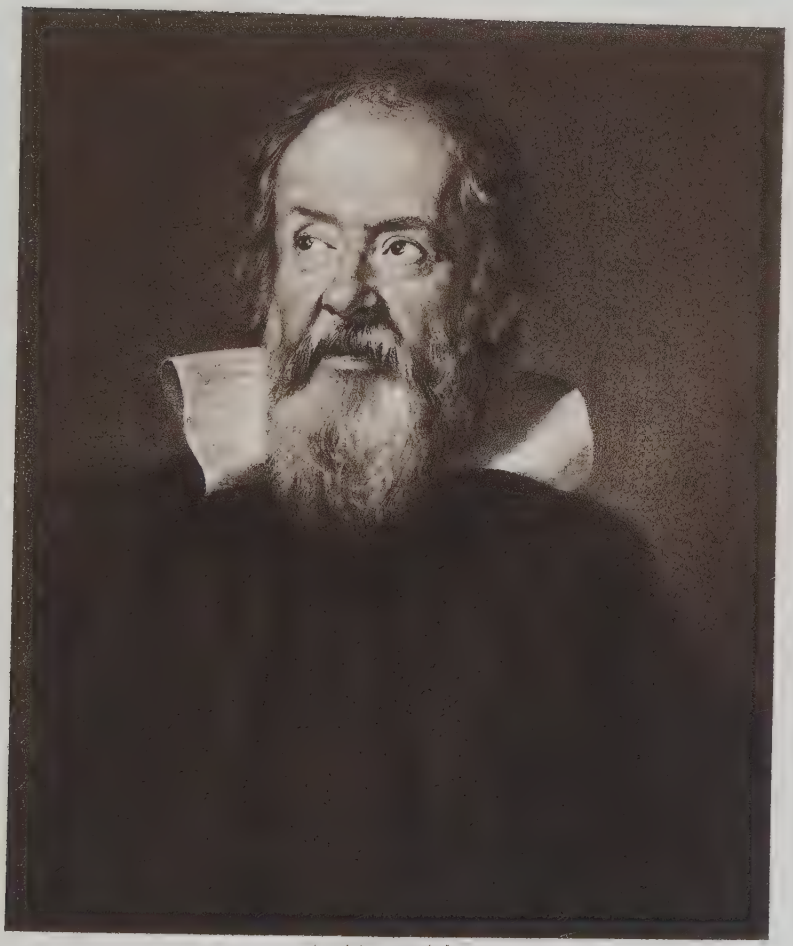
The example of this writer, and the air of liberty in some parts of Italy, during the war waged by Carlo Emanuele against Spain, between 1614 and 1626, gave impulse to a great number of political writings; among them were two philippics against the Spaniards, vigorous and eloquent, which went under the name of *Tassoni.* What a difference between these papers, full of noble and just sentiment, and the cold harangues, overflowing with large words, artificial rhetoric, and extravagant metaphors, of which the *secento* had so great an abundance!

There was an exception—a splendid exception that makes one wonder—in the Jesuit Paolo Segneri (1624-1694), of Nettuno, preacher and missionary, who has left noted examples of sacred eloquence in the *Quaresimale* ("Lenten Sermons"), in the *Panegirici* ("Eulogies"),

and in the *Prediche dette nel palazzo apostolico* ("Sermons Delivered in the Apostolic Palace"). If sometimes his rhetoric gets the upper hand, so that he declaims or denounces with interrogations, exclamations, emphatic repetitions, and legal tricks, still not a few felicitous flights of oratory, not a few outbursts of unaffected scorn, and unexpected opportune digressions, occur in his sermons, which are justly valued, together with his other devotional writings—among them the *Manna dell' anima* ("Manna of the Soul"), the *Incredulo senza scusa* ("Doubter without Excuse"), and *Il Cristiano istruito* ("The Christian Instructed").

But, while from the universal decadence of good taste in the seventeenth century only a few historians and political writers escape with Tassoni and two or three lyric poets; while letters, regarded as a whole, seem miserably fallen, science shone with splendid radiance, and the final evolution of the Renaissance having been carried to its height in art during the period that gave to Italy Ariosto and Machiavelli, now fulfils itself in the field of mathematics, physics, and natural science, reaching its climax in Galileo Galilei. Thus our country, after educating Europe to the perception and love of the beautiful, was able to coöperate in the work of leading the way to strict scientific investigation of truth.

The first attempts among Italians to use the experimental method were made by Leon Battista Alberti and Leonardo da Vinci. After them, Bernardino Telesio (1508?-1588), of Cosenza, had contended for the study and observation of nature, waging war on the principle of authority and on narrow Aristotelianism, as Valla had done before him; and, in defense of liberty of thought, two brother rebels, Giordano Bruno (1548-1600), of Nola, and Giulio Cesare Vanini (1585?-1619), of Taurisano, had left their lives upon the funeral pyre. But Bruno's pantheism and the ambiguous and indefinite



philosophy of Vanini preluded the reformed scientific work of Galileo, quite different in its methods, only in as far as they fed the spirit of independence of reason from faith, in the consideration of natural phenomena. Likewise Frà Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639), of Stilo in Calabria, was, rather than a philosopher, an infatuated dreamer of political and social regeneration by means of a design of his, by which, in his *Città del Sole* ("City of the Sun") he wandered at will through flowery regions of Utopia, while in life he supported the bitter reality of a twenty-nine years' imprisonment: In consequence, he can be numbered among the precursors of Galileo only by the *razionalità* he followed as the one norm in the construction of his fantastic edifice.

Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), of Pisa, first carried the opposition to Aristotelianism from the field of theoretic discussion into that of facts, and first applied to the study of nature, with wonderful results, that experimental method whose laws had been sought out and explained in England by Francis Bacon, his contemporary. Throughout his life Galileo consecrated all the energies of his powerful and lucid intellect to the exact sciences and to the observation of physical phenomena by means of most accurate experiments; first at Pisa, where he taught mathematics at the Studio from 1589 to 1592, then at Padua where he held the same chair eighteen years. There is no one who does not know what physics, and astronomy in particular, owe to him; and the persecutions he suffered from the Holy Office, to which his discoveries appeared dangerous for the faith, are famous. Denounced by the Inquisition in 1615, the great scientist hastened to Rome to exculpate himself; there, while Campanella from his cell at Naples rose to his defense, in his *Apologia pro Galilæo,* he was solemnly "admonished" by Cardinal Bellarmino. For some years he was free from serious annoyance. But

in 1632, for his *Dialogo dei massimi sistemi del mondo,* he was enjoined to return to Rome, and, although ill, he went there in the beginning of the following year. There he was examined and constrained to confess the falsity of the Copernican system, which he knew to be scientifically indisputable. They condemned him to be imprisoned and to recite once every week the penitential psalms! Against such constraint, as contrary to human dignity and to the inalienable rights of truth, "the popular conscience," says Favaro, "protested in the following century," attributing to the supreme scientist the words that he certainly did not pronounce: "But yet it moves." However, Galileo was not shut up in an actual prison, but in the palace of the Grand Duke of Tuscany at Trinità de' Monti, whence he was soon allowed to repair to Siena with the Archbishop Ascanio Piccolomini, and afterward to his villa of Arcetri. There he was allowed to continue his scientific labors, though kept in sight by the Holy Office, and continually annoyed in various ways. For some time he found consolation in his lovely daughter, Sister Maria Celeste, who from the convent of San Matteo in Arcetri wrote him letters of which a considerable number have been preserved, admirable in their candor and affection. But she died in 1634; and, as a climax of misfortune, blindness came to the bereaved father. Nevertheless, he continued his investigations and studies. His fine *Dialoghi delle nuove scienze* were written in 1638. At this time he obtained leave to go to a house of his own at Florence, and there he died, serenely, four years later.

Galileo was not only a great scientist; he was a wonderfully lucid and effective writer. His *Saggiatore* ("Assayer") is a gem of dialectic art, subtle, and, as far as the scientific material permits, delightful. He had studied Ariosto with great love and with a desire, as he confesses, to make the style his own; and his prose

bears the evidence of it; it is no less graceful than correct and clear. To Tasso he was averse, and in certain of his *Considerazioni* he exposes, almost with irritation, the artifices and defects of that poet; nor could it be otherwise, considering his conceptions of the methods and aims of the art of expression. This little work of the great scientist is perhaps the best produced by the seventeenth century in the way of criticism. For the *Proginnasmi poetici* ("Poetic Pro-gymnastics") of Benedetto Fioretti (Udeno Nisiely), of Mercatale (1579-1642), is a poor thing, a confused medley of observations concerning Greek, Latin, and Italian poets; and only some gleam of real acumen shines here and there in the erudite writings of Niccola Villani, a curious figure of a *literato,* who at the same time cultivated humorous poetry and wrote its history learnedly, defended Marino, and analyzed two tragedies of the Renaissance, wrote not inelegant poetry in Latin, and censured the *Gerusalemme,* hoping perhaps to surpass it with his *Fiorenza difesa* ("Florence Defended"). As to Celso Cittadine, of Siena, who was long regarded as leading the way to the history of the grammar of the Romance languages, it is now established that, in the *Origini della volgar toscana favella* (1604), he did no more than put together badly some unpublished grammatical writings of Tolomei.

From the school of Galileo came some of the best writers on scientific subjects that Italy can boast: Benedetto Castelli, of Brescia, Bonaventura Cavalieri, of Milan, Evangelista Torricelli of Faenza, Vincenzo Viviani, of Florence. And the way that he marked out was followed in the next age by Lorenzo Magalotti (1637-1712), born in Rome of a Florentine family, who was secretary of the Academy of the Cimento, and wrote clear and exact accounts of its labors in the *Saggi di naturali esperienze.* Besides by this most excellent work,

he is particularly known by the *Lettere Familiari,* in which he combats atheism, and by fifteen Platonic *canzoni,* entitled *La donna immaginaria* ("The Imaginary Lady"). Magalotti, in his encyclopedic tendencies, in the great variety of his writings, in his love of travel, in his knowledge of foreign languages, and in the breadth of his criterions of style, was a forerunner of the eighteenth century

The literature of the eighteenth century is not distinct in its first decades from that of which we have spoken heretofore. Between the literature of the seventeenth century and that of the eighteenth, there is no line of demarcation, no break of continuity. It is usually said that the celebrated academy which originated in the last decade of the seventeenth century, with the name of "Arcadia," from the *conversazioni* held by Christina of Sweden in the salon she established in Rome after her abdication, represented the reaction against the so-called *secentism,* ("Seventeenth-centuryism"). This is true. But this it may be observed did not prevent its being at the same time a recrudescence, or, if the expression is preferred, a transformation of the "preziosità" *("précieuses").* Chivalry is quite another thing from affectation; the latter, as we know, had been grafted upon the former in our poetry by Marino and his followers, from the desire for novelty. What did the Arcadia do? It opposed the bombast and the abuse, or the ill use, of metaphoric speech—the principal characteristic of the seventeenth century, where was sought in the effeminacy of the Anacreontic style, and in the feebleness of the idyllic, the form of poetry best adapted to a society of formal priests and of gallants in perukes. It turned to approach, or rather it approached still more nearly than in the past, the bucolic sentiment, and was, perhaps not a revival, but a continuation, of the national tradition. For this sentiment, connatural, as it were, to

our race, had come from the Sicilian Theocritus and from the Mantuan Virgil, down through the Tuscan Boccaccio and the Neapolitan Sannazzaro, celebrating its greatest triumphs under our skies and in face of our seas.

In doing this the Arcadia tuned its shepherd's pipe in unison with the lyres of every part of Europe, signally of France. For, carried from Italy among the nations where Sannazzaro, Tasso, and Guarini were admired and imitated, pastoral poetry was in favor in all those literatures in the eighteenth century. Further, it banished from poetry by this means the turgid, the whimsical, the flashy. Hence the fourteen founders of the grand new academy, which soon had its laws, given by Gravini, and its established seat—the *Bosco Parrasio,* upon the Janiculum—could boast of having given to our literature a valid means for "exterminating bad taste and providing against its resurrection." None the less, pastoral simplicity soon degenerated—nor could it be otherwise—into insipid sweetness; and the innumerable shepherds, the endless shepherdesses, versifying in the colonies of the Arcadia from one end of Italy to the other, gave us a poesy all milk and honey. Thus, though the sonorous emptiness was gone, the fine-spun and farfetched conceits of thought and form remained. There were two graceful Arcadians of great renown in their time: Carlo Maria Maggi (1630-1699), of Milan, a voluminous but feeble writer of lyrics, songs and dramatic compositions; and Francesco De Lemène (1634-1704), of Lodi, noted especially for his religious poetry. Giambattista Zappi (1667-1719), of Imola, one of the founders of the successful academy, is ornate and ungraceful; with the exception of sonnets upon Judith, upon Michelangelo's Moses and upon Lucretia, his verses seem inferior even to those of his wife, Faustina Maratti, whose poetry was inspired by the dolorous events of her life.

For the rest, the erotic affectations and the frivolous insipidities of the salon and the academy were not peculiar to Italy at this period. They reflected conditions common to the other nations as well. Metastasio, Rolli and Frugoni were among us what Dorat, Bernard, and a thousand others were in France; and, in Germany, Frederic Hagedorn and the school of German Anacreontic poets. From Metastasio we have *canzonette* exquisitely melodious and spontaneous which attained to great popularity. Paolo Rolli (1687-1765), a Roman, cultivated largely the tender and gallant *canzonetta,* and was called the leader of this class of poetry. Carlo Innocenzo Frugoni (1692-1768), a patrician of Genoa, sought to unite the classic seriousness to the facile flow proper to lyric poetry, using a style sonorous, pompous and redundant. For this he had the credit of having made an innovation on the manner of the Arcadian Academy—to which he belonged under the name Comante Egenetico—while he did no more than furnish the poetry of his day with fine fashions and embellishments, instead of pouring into it the new blood it so much needed. His numerous poems, various in subject and meter, are in truth poor as to their content. "Parasitic Anacreon of Farnesian bacon, Horace of Bourbon chocolate," as Carducci calls him, Frugoni improvised rhymes in gratitude for a basket of mushrooms or a demijohn of wine, to borrow Spanish tobacco, or to invite himself to dinner. He was a brother of the Somascan order; then, having been absolved from his vows, he was a priest, and then for a long time a courtier in Parma with the Farnese and the Bourbons; and he gives us a picture complete and characteristic of the Italian clergy of the Settecento: indefatigable squires of dames and no less indefatigable fabricators of *canzonette,* to be sung to the cymbals, and of chamber pastorals. "Father incorrupt of corrupt sons," Vincenzo Monti thought him;

but the *ampolle e le parole* ("inflated and wordy expressions") of his followers were not lacking in him. However, blank verse skilfully treated and some superficial characteristics of his art make him a precursor not to be passed over of the poet of the *Bassvilliana.*

As the work of the Arcadian Academy was the representative of the lyric poetry of this part of the eighteenth century, so Metastasio's musical drama was the representative of its stage literature.

Pietro Trapassi, who took the Greek name Metastasio (1698-1782), son of a poor family in Rome, was learning a trade when Gianvincenzo Gravina heard him improvising songs, and took him to his own home, educated him, and when he died left him his property. After he had lost his protector, the young man devoted himself to poetry and at the same time to a life of enjoyment; then, having speedily wasted his inheritance, he was obliged to repair to Naples and enter the office of an advocate. But meantime he had written some pieces for the theater and had them acted; this led to an acquaintance with a celebrated *cantatrice,* Marianna Benti Bulgarelli, called *la Romanina,* who took a liking to him, protected and aided him. For her he wrote *Didone Abbandonata* ("Forsaken Dido"), which rendered him famous. He went with her to Venice and then to Rome, writing other lyrical dramas not less successful. In 1729 he had the honor of an invitation to Vienna as imperial poet. There he found favor with the Countess Marianna d'Althann, at first his patroness, afterward, it is said, his wife. His life thereafter was calm and comfortable; he busied himself with writings for which he was well paid—musical dramas, oratorios, serenades and *canzonette* for the use of the court. His placid nature, averse to violent commotions, was reflected in these music-dramas; for, although there are not wanting passages of real eloquence in them, especially in the *Themis-*

tocle, in the *Clemenza di Tito,* and in the *Attilio Regolo,* Metastasio never rises in them to the sublime, to the tragic, to vehement and grand pathos; rather he seeks the beautiful by exquisite gentleness; he prefers the sigh of sadness to the sob of despair, the thrill of love to the quivering of anger. The explanation of the immense popularity of Metastasio's work, aside from its perfect consonance with the artistic ideal of the age, consists in the marvelous fluidity and the incomparable harmony of the verse. Nothing more akin to itself can music ask from the art of words.

The musical drama rose with Metastasio to the greatest height of art of which it was naturally capable. Lorenzo da Ponte and Casti, who contended for the succession in the office of imperial poet, Ranieri de' Calsabigi, who followed his lead in the *Orfeo,* set to music by Glück, Count Carlo Gastone della Torre di Rezzonico (1742-1796), of Como, who found time to imitate him, while he cultivated scientific poetry with diligence, remained far inferior to the master of this dramatic form.

Together with the musical drama the regular comedy continued to have cultivators in the first half of the eighteenth century, but these were only mediocre. Girolamo Gigli (1660-1722), a Sienese of eccentric genius, was a scholar and acute critic, defender of the speech of his city in a *Vocabolario Cateriniano* ("Dictionary of St. Catherine"), which roused against him the wrath of the Florentine Academy, the object of his scorn. In the *Don Pilone, ovvero il bacchettone falso* ("Don Pilo: or, the False Devotee"), he puts upon the stage a hypocrite vividly representing the false pietism of Tuscany under Cosimo III. But the comedy is only a free version of Molière's *Tartufe* with curious interpolations. In the *Sorellina di Don Pilone* ("The Little Sister of Don Pilo"), in which he followed out the design of the former, the abounding personal satire has no savor for us. Jacopo

Nelli (1673?-1767), another Sienese, approached too near to the drama *a soggetto*, the comedy of masks, in his numerous comedies, which are involved in their action and have slight originality.

Giambattista Fagiuoli (1660-1742), a Florentine, was a favorite of Cardinal Francesco Maria de' Medici, and took delight in festive society; academies vied with one another to secure him, for in that talkative century, academies swarmed from one end of the peninsula to the other. Together with a great number of *capitoli* and other "pleasant rhymes," whose spontaneous humor compensates for the futile and the slovenly passages, he left a score of comedies, valuable for the student of the plebeian or peasant language of Tuscany in the eighteenth century, but insipid in their themes and conventional in their characters. The "comedy of the arts" continued to dominate the stage, and new *Scenarii* were written for it even by *literati*.

The writers of tragedy at this time were strongly influenced by French literature, to which Corneille and Racine had given in the seventeenth century a tragic drama nobly and classically dignified, and not without a touch of gallantry. Pier Jacopo Martelli (1665-1727), of Bologna, wrote tragedies formed upon those, even in the meter; from him the Alexandrine verse took its Italian name, still retained, of *martelliano*. However, in some of his dramas he used the hendecasyllable unrhymed, among others the *Fcmia*, which is remembered to-day only for its versification. The imitation of the French drama was opposed by Gravina, as poor a dramatist as he was a good critic, and Domenico Lazzarini (1668-1731), of Macerata, professor of Latin and Greek literatures at the studio of Padua. In the *Ulisse il giovane* ("The Young Ulysses"), Lazzarini designed to return to the Greeks, attempting their gravity of form and dignity of characters, and he aimed above all to excite emo-

tion or to terrify. Contemporaneously, and upon the lines of the same models, Scipione Maffei (1675-1755), a Veronese scholar and poet, recalled tragedy to the observance of the rules it had followed two centuries earlier, with his successful *Merope,* acted at Modena in 1713. This drama, in unrhymed hendecasyllables, with simple plot, without choruses, without prologue, without confusion, is perhaps the best produced in Italy before Alfieri, for, despite certain defects, it interests and moves. Finally, Antonio Conti (1677-1749), a Paduan, a man of varied activity, highly versed in the sciences and in ancient and modern literature, profited in the composition of his tragedies by the wide acquaintance with literature acquired during a long sojourn in France and in England and by the literary friendships contracted in those countries. He knew the dramas of Shakespeare and knew how to make his knowledge of use in his own work; in his choice of form he had in view the classics of the French in their age of gold. The civic and moral plots he designed were only imperfectly carried out.

The literary character of this period, extending from the foundation of the Arcadian Academy in 1690 to the middle of the eighteenth century, does not differ substantially from that of the preceding period. The decadence continued, but with some signs of revival.

In science, the school of Galileo was continued by ardent disciples. The contrast between its abounding vigor and the miserable condition of letters is not less marked than in the preceding century. Yet, on the one hand, scientific writings lose the charm of elegant and correct style, because the thought is the only matter of concern; on the other hand, the scientific spirit was diffused through certain kinds of literature, as works of scholarship, critical history, and ethical studies. Thus science and literature drew together and were allied with many reciprocal concessions. From this union the lan-

guage came out miserably barbarized, because our writers had their eyes constantly on the French, who were skilful promoters of the new doctrines.

Therefore no artistic value belongs to the work of Giambattista Vico (1668-1744), a Neapolitan, and one of the most powerful and profound intellects of Italy in speculative thought. In 1725 he published *La Scienza nuova,* that is, the "Principles of a New Science concerning the Nature of Nations by Means of which Are Discovered Other Principles of Natural Law among Nations." Notwithstanding its lack of purely literary value, this work, which initiated the "new science," the philosophy of history, has a place in literary annals. It is the fruit of daily reflection; for Vico prepared for it slowly during nine years passed in the quiet of Cilento, where he was tutor to the nephews of the Bishop of Ischia, whence he passed in 1697 to the chair of rhetoric in the University of Naples. Prepared by close studies in letters, philosophy, and jurisprudence, after partially developing his theory in various Latin writings, he sought, in *La Scienza nuova,* the origin of all science by the light of philology, and with conceptions and intuitions revealing the highest genius, he arrived by this untried path at a history of human thought, which, if it has since lost some of its value, was for those times wonderful. His theory of *corsi e ricorsi* ("flux and reflux," or "ebb and flow"), concerning the various stages passed through by nations, is no longer accepted; but his observations on the laws of the development of national civilizations are acute and judicious. He was the first to advance the theory, largely developed and discussed by philologists of the present day, that Homer may have been, not an actual person, but "an idea or a heroic character of men of Greece in as far as they narrated or sang their histories."

Beside Vico, who may be called the founder of that

historical criticism that is allied to philosophy and depends upon it, should be placed Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1672-1750), of Vignola, near Modena, inaugurator of the historic criticism guided by light from the work of the antiquary and the diplomat. Both were great; both pursued the inductive method, which had given new life to science. Muratori, a good priest and an industrious librarian, left works of varied erudition, among them the *Rerum italicarum Scriptores* ("Writers of Italian History"), an immense and valuable collection, in twenty-eight great volumes, of chronicles and other writings covering Italian history for about a thousand years—from the invasion of the barbarians to the sixteenth century compiled with the coöperation of others, and published in Milan, from 1723-1738. To this work he added *Antiquitates italicæ Medii Ævi* ("Italian Antiquities of the Middle Ages"), learned and acute dissertations describing the conditions in our peninsula in mediæval times; and the *Annali d'Italia,* wherein he sets forth the history of the country from the beginning of the modern era to 1749. Thus he filled admirably the office of historian in three departments: as a collector of sources, as an illustrator of those sources, and as a narrator of events.

Besides Vico and Muratori there were about the same time other famous critics and scholars in this class of studies who are worthy of note in literary history. At the end of the seventeenth century, a Veronese, Francesco Bianchini, proposed to illustrate universal history from the creation of the world to his own age in an *Istoria universale provata con monumenti e figurata con simboli degli antichi* ("Universal History Confirmed by Monuments and Illustrated by the Symbols of the Ancients"), interpreting ancient monuments with the rigor of the critical method; but he published only the first volume, ending with the destruction of the Assyrian Empire.

Giovan Maria Crescimbeni (1663-1728), of Macerata,

for thirty-eight years custodian-general of the Arcadia, with his *Storia della volgar poesia* ("History of Poetry in the Vernacular"), and better, with the "Commentaries" on that history, and Count Giammaria Mazzuchelli (1707-1765), of Brescia, with his dictionary of the writers of Italy, full of information, but not printed beyond the letter B, brought to the knowledge of our literary history a large contribution of information—not always scrupulously verified—especially that by the former. A mine of information, sometimes recondite, on the same subject is furnished by the confused *Storia e ragione d'ogni poesia* ("History and Themes of Poetry") by Francesco Saverio Quadrio, of Valtellino, published in several editions between 1736 and 1752.

Lastly, the Venetian Apostolo Zeno (1668-1750), predecessor of Metastasio as imperial poet at Vienna, was at the same time author of musical dramas of merit and a scholar of singular insight and modernity of criteria, fortunate in his researches for bibliographic rarities, *(cimelii)*, as he was a famous collector of medals; inspired with ardent love and desire for truth. His correspondence with the most learned scholars of his time, his annotations to the *Biblioteca dell' eloquenza italiana*, of Mons. Giusto Fontanini, his *Dissertazioni vossiane*—that is, additions and corrections to the *De historicis latinis* of Voss—are works that even at this day students of literary history have constantly at hand. To Zeno's industry we owe also the *Giornale dei letterati d'Italia* ("Journal of the Literati of Italy"), one of the most important periodicals of the eighteenth century. In that century political and literary journals had wide circulation, with tendencies more or less encyclopædic; the dissemination of knowledge was aided as well by the periodical collections of pamphlets or articles, like the famous ones of Father Calogerà and Father Zaccaria.

CHAPTER IX

THE REVIVAL

IN the literature of the first fifty years of the eighteenth century, it is not difficult to find, even aside from scientific works, amid the stifling repression in which it stagnates, signs forecasting a coming salutary upheaval. The Arcadia was not altogether affected and unnatural. In later times there was some good in it; for, by dint of observing nature and reality, even through the somewhat tarnished crystal of conventional bucolic sentiment, some of the countless Arcadian flock succeeded in forcing the barriers set against them and going to wander through the serene regions of art, inspired by nature herself, without prejudice of the school. Moreover, the Academy had numbered among its members from the beginning men of ability, like the jurisconsult Gianvincenzo Gravina (1664-1718), of Roggiano in Calabria, who in two books, *Della ragion poetica,* and in one other, *Della tragedia,* proves himself a learned and judicious critic. Nor was there ever lacking some one who left the shade of the "Bosco Parrasio" to breathe the invigorating air of the north. The desire to look beyond the confines of the peninsula, to find inspiration in the thought and sentiment of the French and the English, arose in Italy at the end of the seventeenth century.

But as the next century advanced, this desire was intensified beyond measure. It was made an object to bring the national culture into close resemblance to the foreign; the old traditions of the country were cast aside that ultramontane examples might be followed; the intellectual horizon was broadened—to use one of those

metaphors of scientific nature in which they delighted in that age. Various were the tastes, and common was the tendency to confuse diverse productions of the human mind. "Oriental, Northern, Latin, French, German," were admired and imitated throughout the peninsula, as Ippolito Pindemonte affirmed, in discussing *Quale sia presentemente il gusto delle belle lettere in Italia* ("The Present Taste in Belles-Lettres in Italy"). Voltaire, playing the pope on the other side of the Alps, had his devotees, and not a few, among us. To us came the echo of the sayings of Fontenelle, "oracle of science"; and from the lines of the celebrated English poet, Alexander Pope, came, as it were, a reflection of the "great sun" of science himself—Isaac Newton.

Paris and London vied with each other in furnishing not only fashions but ideas to the new cosmopolitan and eclectic Italy. Our writers also preferred the work of French and English authors. Translations of their poets and their prose writers, often merely disguised in Italian, circulated through the hands of the people. Even our most illustrious *literati* joined in the modest work of turning them into our idiom. The Paduan, Melchiorre Cesarotti (1730-1808), a priest, and a professor, first in the Seminary, afterward of Greek and Hebrew in the Athenæum of his own city, while tutor in the house of the Grimani in Venice, learned from an Englishman of the songs in prose which the Scotchman, James Macpherson, had published as the work of Ossian, an ancient Caledonian bard. He was enamored of the gloomy, fantastic, impetuous poetry; and he translated some of the songs, a part in 1763 and others in 1772, in sonorous and well constructed blank verse, which gave him wide and lasting renown and seemed "an excellent model," even to Alfieri. Besides Ossian, Cesarotti rendered into Italian some of Voltaire's tragedies and Gray's famous *Elegy*. His fellow-citizen, Antonio Conti, who had

spent a long time in France and England, translated the "Héloise to Abélard" and "The Rape of the Lock" from Pope, whose poetry he recommended as a model to the Italians; also Racine's *Atalie.* Before this, Rolli, who had spent more than thirty years in England up to 1747, had given an Italian dress to Racine's *Atalie* and his *Esther,* and to Milton's *Paradise Lost.*

Other writers not less renowned were imitators, not in lyrics alone, but also in long poems. Thus the *Lutrin* ("Lecturn") of Boileau is recalled to us by the *Raccolte* ("Collections") of the Mantuan Saverio Bettinelli (1718-1808), a long-lived Jesuit, who taught successively at Brescia, Bologna, Venice, and Parma, and traveled through Europe as tutor to the sons of Prince Hohenlohe. He was in Paris, visited King Stanislaus in Lorena, and was sent by that prince to Voltaire, with whom he formed a friendship. His work shows plainly the influence of the spirit and forms prevailing at that time in the literature of Europe, particularly in that of France. His best work, the *Risorgimento d'Italia negli studii, nelle arti e nei costumi dopo il mille* ("Resurrection of Italy in Learning, in Arts, and in Manners after the Year 1000"), is a study of a vast period in the life of Italy, giving its mutations and advances in thought and customs, upon the lines of the historic labors of Voltaire. From the same influence proceeded his revolt against traditions and opinions sanctioned by universal consent. In the *Lettere dieci di Virgilio agli Arcadi* ("Ten Letters from Virgil to the Arcadians"), followed, for their defense, by the *Lettere Inglesi* ("English Letters"), he abuses Dante and his admirers and imitators, imagining that Virgil, from Elysium, where the ancient poets are gathered, relates their discussions by letter to the Arcadian Academy. In the *Lettere Inglesi* he affirms, through the mouth of an Englishman, that the Italians have no literature in their own language, by reason of

their pedantry, of academic tradition, of the lack of a center, or "point of union," as Paris is to France and London to England. It is evident that in treating of Italian affairs he had foreign conditions constantly in mind.

Bettinelli, a singular mingling, as he has been described, "of Jesuit and Voltairean, of scholar and clerical gallant," known everywhere by the noise and discussions raised by his Virgilian letters, was an authority with his contemporaries, and in the latter years of his long life all revered him as the Nestor of Italian literature. Algarotti, likewise, enjoyed great esteem. His poems in blank verse were published by Bettinelli with his own and those of Frugoni, being presented as "of three excellent authors," and as perfect models of poesy, together with the letters themselves. Both, therefore, contributed not a little to diffuse among Italians the knowledge and the love of foreign things.

Francesco Algarotti was born at Venice in 1712 and died at Pisa in 1764; he traveled and lived a long time in France, in England, in Germany and in Russia. He enjoyed the favor of Frederick the Great, who honored him with the title of count; he was in amicable relations with Voltaire and knew other celebrities and scientists; and in his works he, like Bettinelli, interpreted —somewhat frivolously, but with ease and grace—the tastes and tendencies predominating in European literature. His *Newtonianismo per le dame* ("Newtonism for Ladies"), a highly-prized work, was translated into various languages. He softened the asperities of science in numerous other writings upon the fine arts, literature, music, military art, and ancient and modern history, exhibiting always variety, if not profundity, in his teachings. It is to be regretted that he made the reading of his works fatiguing by his lack of purity of language. But his familiarity with French, in which he wrote, not

without elegance, and the universality of his literary culture, occasioned in him, as in so many others, the corruption of his own language.

For in the eighteenth century a thick veneer of French spread itself over our idiom, ill-omened and fatal. There was among us that respect for the French that there had been in France in the sixteenth century for the Italian; thought and writing, like clothes, were in the fashion of Paris. The barriers placed by nature between us and our neighbors across the Alps seemed to be taken away, such commerce of books there was, and interchange of ideas. The learned not only carried on serious conversations, but jested in the language of Voltaire. The *abate,* Ferdinando Galiani (1728-1787), of Chieti, author of a classic treatise, *Della moneta* ("Of Money"), and other writings on various subjects, was joint author with another *abate,* Giambattista Lorenzi, of the *Socrate immaginario,* a masterpiece of the Neapolitan *opera buffa,* which was acted in 1775, with music by Paisiello. Though the authorship is ascribed to the two mentioned, it is probable that the subject, plot, and Aristophanesque wit are due to Galiani. In the ten years he lived in Paris as secretary of the embassy from the King of Naples, he shone brilliantly, with his wit and fine culture, in the elegant salons of the most illustrious ladies of France; he was a friend of Diderot, of D'Alembert, and of other *literati.* He also took a conspicuous place in the history of French literature by his copious correspondence in that language, by his dialogue *Sur les femmes* and his *Dialogues sur le commerce des blés* ("grains"), and others.

At Milan the editors of the journal *Il caffè* (1764-66), able and industrious young men, forming a curious society, *L'Accademia de' Pugni,* and joined in friendship by a common desire for glory, if not by love "for the civic and social welfare," were subservient to the ultramon-

tane taste, declaring explicitly that they renounced the purism of the grammar and language of Italy. In Bologna, in 1761, a journal in French was issued. And upon the stage French tragedies in Italian versions met with the favor of the public; the plays of Destouches were triumphant; fortune smiled on the *pièces larmoyantes* even on this side of the Alps, where in numerous *drammi lagrimevoli* ("tearful dramas") "sensibility," dear to the eighteenth century, melted into tears. Under the auspices of Martelli, the monotonous Alexandrine had already received the right of citizenship among our dramatic meters.

English literature was also admired and imitated, though in less degree; and Pope, Thomson and Young were much in favor. "The Rape of the Lock" was largely circulated in Italy. Lorenzo Pignotti (1739-1812), of Figline, physician and professor of physics at the University of Pisa, a great favorite of the Grand Duke Ferdinand III, and a popular author of stories, novels, and a *History of Tuscany,* imitated that poem in *La treccia donata* ("The Gift of the Tress"). To Pignotti we owe also two short poems: *L'ombra di Pope* and *La tomba di Shakespeare,* showing his familiarity with British poets. Not less popular than "The Rape of the Lock" were Thomson's "Seasons" and Young's "Night Thoughts." The last-named, together with Gray's "Elegy," inspired in Italy a taste for melancholy and sepulchral poetry, which later had its most splendid artistic manifestation in the *Sepolcri* of Ugo Foscolo.

It was a natural result of the French and English influence so prevalent in Italy, that there should be a general desire for knowledge of the culture and letters of other nations. Much was done to satisfy this desire—that is, to enlarge the common stock of information and ideas by the journeys taken throughout Europe by men like Galiani and Algarotti, and like Antonio Cocchi, a

skilful scientist and an able writer on literary subjects; also Paolo Frisi, an authority in every branch of mathematics, to whom we owe a fine eulogy on Galileo.

German literature as well, though despised by the majority, had its connoisseurs and admirers. For if the barbarous Teutonic language was denounced and, as it were, put under the ban by the authority of Algarotti and Bettinelli, who shuddered "at the hissing voices of the ferocious Vandals," on the other hand, Giambattista Corniani, of Brescia, author of a literary history of Italy notable for its time, published in 1774 a *Saggio sopra la letteratura alemanna* ("Essay on German Literature"); Bernardo Maria Calura, has left us some translations from the German, together with some from Young, his idol, and from others; Aurelio de' Giorgi Bertola (1753-1798), of Rimini, a passionate admirer of the Germans, gave to Italy a history and an anthology of German literature in the *Idea della poesia alemanna,* which he enlarged and revised five years later, with the title *Idea della bella letteratura alemanna.*

Bertola, who was the incarnation of this tendency to make a treasure of exotic sciences and arts, attached his own name as versifier only to fables, love-songs and rhymes of the fields and of the sea. His poems are of the best that the Arcadian manner could produce in its last stage, rejuvenated by imitations of the more famous among the foreigners who had followed, or were following, lines in art in harmony with it.

However, the tender and gallant *abate* of Rimini, compared with his predecessors and contemporaries, produced something new. He spoke, with remarkable modernity of expression, of the feeling of nature; he tried to understand the intimate voice, that is to say, the soul of things; he tried to represent tones and tints of color that seemed to him unobserved in the arts of design and of words. This is shown in his poetry, and

still better in his *Viaggio sul Reno* ("Journey on the Rhine"), which is not a guide to museums or a historical-archæological study, as were the letters of the Bolognese Giovan Lodovico Bianconi entitled *Sopra alcune particolarità della Baviera ed altri paesi della Germania* ("On Some Characteristics of Bavaria and Other Countries of Germany"), but a description of a journey along that magnificent river that was intended to represent nature in its changeful appearances and under the varied effects of light Bertola, in an age when pictorial style was cultivated throughout Europe, carried away the palm among the Italians by describing the country "as it is, without the old ceremonial of Arcadia," to use his own phrase.

Bertola's recognition of the defects of his Pindaric brethren, his ability to draw truth and naturalness from the same sources whence others drew only effeminacy and affectation, is the result both of the tendency to æsthetic criticism—of which he has given proof in his *Eulogy of Gessner* and in his *Observations on Metastasio*—and of the fact that the "sensibility," which, in the second half of the eighteenth century, was almost imposed upon writers, in him was not an affectation. His studies in German literature, and his relations with literary foreigners, may have contributed not a little to give life and novelty of style to his verses. He was at Vienna in 1783, under the protection of the Apostolic Nuncio at the court of the Emperor Joseph II; from his residence there he received two advantages: material for the revision of his *Idea della poesia alemanna,* and upon his return the chair of the Philosophy of History established at the University of Pavia by the Austrian Minister, the Prince di Kaunitz. Four years later he went to Zurich to visit Solomon Gessner; and by the conversation of the German Theocritus he was confirmed in the love for the idyllic and the pathetic of which that writer seemed to

him the most exquisite example in life as well as in art. Bertola has left us translations of twenty-seven idyls of Gessner, sufficiently faithful, if not always elegant.

Artistically superior to the industrious Bertola was Lodovico Savioli (1729-1804), of Bologna, with his twenty-four *canzonette* in a flexible and smooth meter, which was borrowed from him by Parini, Mazzi, and Monti for some of their finest odes. Saviola's verses are rich in classic images and in movement Ovidian or Propertian. The mythology is as if cognate to the subject, having nothing forced about it; the graceful style is not lacking in vigor and conciseness; the harmony of the versification, facile but not careless, caresses the ear. Between these and the *canzonette* of Casti, Crudeli, and Frugoni, the comparison is all in favor of Savioli.

Giovan Gherardo de' Rossi (1754-1827), a Roman, known as a writer of fairly good comedies in imitation of Goldoni, wrote some amorous poems that have been justly praised. He returned to the metric schemes of Chiabrera; his form of *canzonetta* was not divided into strophes, but ran through a series of eight-syllabled lines rhymed in couplets, or occasionally alternately, and resembled the Anacreontic ode. Together with Bertola and Savioli, he represents an Arcadia modified by innovation, but not therefore less essentially Arcadian, which was to remain tenaciously faithful to its methods and standards of art down to the first decades of the nineteenth century. Jacopo Vittorelli (1749-1835), of Bassano, became noted for some really good Anacreontics; after the great upheaval of the French Revolution, he spent his talents on current literary frivolities.

But if these last Arcadians of the eighteenth century, as to the content of their poetry only, serve out to us the usual vapid and insipid draught with a larger or smaller infusion of exotic drugs, yet, as to the form—that is, in the matter of the rhetorical figures, the details of tech-

nique, and the measures—they mark a notable advance upon the earlier manner of the Academy. In this respect it is but a step from Savioli to Parini. Although Parini makes his own the Arcadian manner, lacking in substance as it is, he uses it for the vehicle of poetry aimed at noble civic ends, abhorrent of mellifluous, idyllic, or gallant nonsense. The form is essentially the same, but the matter is completely changed.

Giuseppe Parini, the son of a small silk-merchant, was born May 23, 1729, in Bosisio, a pleasant borough on the declivity of a hill looking north to Lake Pusiano (Eupili). He was taken to Milan at the age of nine, and received his first instruction there. Later he was obliged to make his own living as an examiner and copyist of legal papers. In 1752 he published his first little volume of verse, *Alcune poesie di Ripano Eupilino* (Ripano being an anagram of Parino). Then Gian Carlo Passeroni, of Nizza, an excellent priest—to whom we owe seven volumes of Æsopian fables, a vast poem in octaves, the *Cicerone,* in which the life of the great orator is made a pretext for digressions on existing manners—exerted himself to have Parini received into the *Accademia dei Trasformati,* and he was enrolled in this circle of the cultured society of Milan. Two years later he took orders, though without true vocation; but as he wished to live the life of a student, he, as a plebeian, had no other way to do it than this. He was soon assigned to the place of preceptor in the house of the Dukes of Serbelloni, where he remained eight years. He was forced to leave because of a quarrel with the Duchess, and found himself, with his aged mother, in extreme poverty. But, by the publication of the *Mattino,* he gained not only a little money, but the favor of the Count of Firmian, minister plenipotentiary of the Empress Maria Theresa in Lombardy, who entrusted to him first the direction of the *Gazzetta di Milano,* then, in

1769, a professorship of eloquence. But the income was not sufficient for his domestic needs, increased by ill health; hence he was compelled to ask for a larger salary, which was granted, till October, 1791, when he obtained the office of superior superintendent of the public schools of Brera, without relinquishing his professorship. In 1796, when the Republican army of France, under command of Napoleon, entered Milan, Parini rejoiced at it; and on the 6th of Pratile (May-June) he was called, by order of Bonaparte and the Commissary of the Directory, to take part in the Municipalità di Milano, in which office he showed himself, according to his colleague, Pietro Verri, "firm and energetic." But, as his health continued to fail, and as he lost the sight of one eye by cataract, which threatened the sight of the other also, three months later he asked relief—possibly glad of a pretext—from the cares of the office. He returned to the quiet of his school while still watching the course of political events. The last canto of the *Italo cigno* ("Italian Swan") was an imprecation against the excesses of the democrats, and at the same time an admonition to the Austrians and Russians and to the reactionaries. The same day on which he wrote this canto, August 15, 1799, he expired peacefully, and was buried in the cemetery of Porta Comasina.

Parini's prose works are not of great importance; they are sensible but careless in form, consisting of a dialogue, *Della nobiltà,* some eulogies and discourses, and a short treatise *De' principii delle belle lettere.* His fame depends upon his verses, especially the *Giorno* ("Day") and his odes. Having entered one of the common paths of Arcadia, he knew how to find his way to the high road of great and sincere art; no doubt he owed the impulse to the noble assistance of that part of the Milanese patricians to whom was due the publication of one of the most voluminous and valuable works of that century,

Muratori's *Rerum italicarum scriptores.* It was not unbecoming in the friend of these noble gentlemen to satirize in his poem other patricians, idle and corrupt, and to give a content making for morality and civic virtues to the forms of the last years of the Arcadia, so finely elaborated and till then the medium only for trifles. Hence the *Giorno* and the Odes. In these the poet, with complete understanding of existing society and equal knowledge of ancient culture, was guided or inspired by the sentiment and the faith of the coming years.

Parini labored long at *Il Giorno;* the last two parts did not appear in print until after his death; he would not yield to those who urged him to publish them—probably from generous regard for the victims of the Revolution, against whom he would not excite irritation. *Il Giorno,* divided into four parts, Morning, Noon, Evening, and Night, and written in unrhymed lines of eleven syllables, is one of the most exquisite things our literature can boast. The author supposing himself to be teaching a "young gentleman" what things he ought to do in the various moments of the day, scourges, with irony full of grace but highly effective, the arrogance, the vanity, the effeminacy and the depravity of a great part of the nobility of his time. The subtle satire of the plebeian poet preludes, in a way, the uprising of the Revolution against the aristocracy; and Parini's work was new and original, a didactic poem in the form of satire, choosing the medium of an open and continuous contrast between the trivial subject and the lofty and dignified epic form. The richness of the episodes is wonderful; among them that of the *vergine cuccia* ("The Foolish Virgin") is deservedly famous. In a thousand ways the poet varies the theme; he handles the rhythm with incomparable mastery; he elaborates the form with the same diligent care as the sixteenth-century poets, with the same desire to emulate the ancients, especially Vir-

gil. Thus Parini reconducts Italian poetry to the national artistic traditions; but with a different spirit—with inspirations, intonations, and material essentially modern.

In the Odes, also, Parini furnishes a work of art of great variety, using the meters of the *canzonette,* but tempering them to a more virile stateliness which sometimes goes so far as to seem forced. For the most part, he admonishes and exhorts to the right; and the nature of the man was always in harmony with the spirit of the poet. Thus, in the *Vita rustica* ("Rural Life") and in his last ode, *Alla Musa* ("To the Muse"), he whom we have seen devoted to study and lacking ambition, exalts the dignity of study and the quiet of the country; in the *Salubrità dell' aria* ("Healthfulness of Fresh Air"), in the *Innesto del vaiuolo* ("Inoculation for the Smallpox"), in the *Bisogno* ("Need"), in the ode to Silvia, and in the *Educazione,* is seen the ardent defender of the measures to promote public hygiene and public morality, the associate of Beccaria and the two Verri; in the *Caduta,* the conscience of the man who has kept the integrity and strength of his character amid the constraints of poverty, speaks in noble accents. The odes most perfect in respect of art—not all aiming to instruct—are the later ones, written between 1793 and 1795: the *Messaggio, A Silvia* also *Sul vestire alla ghigliottina* ("guillotine") and *Alla Musa,* all elaborated with consummate delicacy.

Parini, whose influence was very potent with the great Italian writers that followed him, had a companion in the work of the regeneration of our letters in morals and manners. This was Alfieri.

Count Vittorio Alfieri was born January 16, 1749, in Asti—a Piedmontese sound in mind and body. He received a military education in Turin in a college where he learned more French than Italian; when he was free, in

1766, he set out to travel, and from 1767 to 1772 he visited half Europe, falling in love and falling out, spending and scattering; fantastic, turbulent, quick to anger, always dissatisfied with himself and with others, fonder of horses than of books. But a leaven of fierceness in his soul gave promise of the tragical *odiator de' tiranni.* In the year 1769, when at Berlin, he was presented to Frederick II; he felt "no emotion either of admiration or of respect, but of indignation, indeed, and of anger"; and at Vienna, seeing the priest Metastasio making the customary little genuflexion to Maria Theresa with a face "of gay and flattering servility," he wished to know no more of the celebrated imperial poet. Meantime he, who had none of the pathetic, Arcadian, or Gessnerian tenderness, but the enthusiasm of liberty and the sense of the dignity of man, drew from his travels what gallant priests like Bertola, traveling through Europe, never would have dreamed of—scorn of blind servility and desire for civic reform. He read Helvetius, Rousseau, and Montesquieu; he read Plutarch's *Lives* with tears of sorrow and anger and with cries of fury; those tears, he writes, "burst from me at the thought that I was born in a time and under a government where no great thing could be either done or said, and when even to feel or to think of it was perhaps equally useless." Only with such ideas, with such ardor of feeling, could the life and the conscience of a people be reformed.

After he had returned from his travels, Alfieri took a residence at Turin, and there, in 1775, he put one of his tragedies, *Cleopatra,* on the stage, together with a little farce, *I poeti* ("The poets"), in which he derided it. They were very successful; but the author, thoroughly convinced of the insufficiency of his studies, and fired with the ambition of one day "gaining deservedly true dramatic laurels," devoted himself with iron tenacity to preparation for entering the arena of tragedy; and, since

he "willed and willed always and most strongly willed," he was soon able to enter that arena with finely tempered weapons.

He omitted as far as possible the reading of French, and studied the four greater Italian poets; he labored patiently in Cesarotti's *Ossian* over the structure of the unrhymed hendecasyllable, and in Roman writers over the Latin language, which he had almost forgotten. In 1776 he went to Tuscany to accustom himself "to speak, hear, think, and dream in Tuscan, and never otherwise."

At Florence, the following year, Louise of Stolberg, Countess of Albany, the wife of Charles Edward Stuart (the "Young Pretender"), became his inspirer, and, having taken her away from that "irrational and drunken master," he lived with her the rest of his life. In 1782, having written fourteen tragedies, he had the *Antigone* acted in Rome. The following year he published this and three others: *Filippo, Polinice* and *Virginia.* In 1787-'89 he published nineteen dramas in Paris; he had taken up his residence there with the Countess of Albany, who had in the meantime become a widow. In 1792 they had to fly from Paris, encountering great dangers. They established themselves again at Florence; and there Alfieri continued his studies with more alacrity than ever, succeeding, at that age, in learning Greek without a master.

His political ideas had been modified; the democratic Count, who some years before had kissed the ruins of the Bastile, now, having seen liberty guillotining and robbing, hated the tyranny of the proletariat not less than that of despotism; and he put together against the French "five prose pieces, forty-six sonnets, sixty-three epigrams, and a single ode," entitling the work *Il misogallo* and pouring out his bile in it with acrimony and violence. The English alone seemed to him to enjoy real freedom; and in four comedies, forming a sort of political

tetralogy—*L'uno, I pochi, I troppi, L'antidoto* ("The One," "The Few," "Too Many," "The Antidote")—he pointed to constitutional government as the "antidote" to the three "poisons:" absolute monarchy, oligarchy and democracy. These comedies, written first in prose, were afterward (1800-'02) versified. With two others, on moral and social subjects—*La Finestrina* ("The Little Window"), on the old theme of the windows that might be placed in men's breasts to reveal their secret thoughts, and the *Divorzio,* against gallantry, attest the author's aptitude for that kind of satire and are not without value. But Alfieri could not give them the finishing touches; he died October 8, 1803. He was buried in Santa Croce, where the Countess of Albany raised a monument to his memory, the work of Canova.

Always haughty and eccentric, Alfieri in his last years played the disdainful misanthrope. But his heart, essentially good, was inclined to strong affections and warmth of love for his countrymen. There is something prophetic in the close of the *Misogallo,* and the dedication of *Bruto II* to the Italians of the future. To encourage those disheartened by servitude was the constant object of the Astian author in his art, which in its aim and methods was purely modern.

The type of Alfieri's tragedies is the "neoclassic," brought to perfection by the French dramatists in their golden age. The characters are few, the Aristotelian unities are generally observed; no element alien to the grave and austere majesty of the tragic style is ever introduced. It is true that the rich dramatic literature of the Jesuits, Bettinelli, Giovanni Gianelli, and others, on the one hand, and the tragedies of Voltaire on the other, may have suggested to Alfieri forms and features for his drama; but he is highly and magnificently original —in the patriotic and civic ends he aims at, in the subjectivity which is the chief characteristic of his art, and

in his haughtily courageous style. His characters struggle against the caprices of tyrants, as those of the Greek tragedies against fate. He preferred subjects drawn from the history and the legends of Greece and of Rome, because they offer the most wonderful examples of heroic love of liberty and at the same time of the cruel barbarity of despots. He thought those subjects "tragediable" in the highest degree where a vigorous passion, good or evil, leads to the suppression of every other emotion and to the overcoming of every obstacle. Hence, in his characters is a singular force, at times more than human; and while they speak and act before us, they continually remind us of the poet of magnanimous anger, of sudden and vehement emotions, who is making them speak and act. Hence, also, the rejection of everything that could retard the rapid development of the action toward the catastrophe; and hence, finally, the concise brevity of the dialogue, the style of expression the more effective as it is simple and unadorned, the rugged but vigorous verse.

Alfieri's characters are sometimes monotonous, it is true, and he inclines somewhat toward conventionality. In a few of the tragedies, the style, by too great adherence to brevity, is poor in color and imagery; monosyllables, elisions and inversions abound, intentionally, sometimes rendering the verse inharmonious. But, even aside from the loftiness of aim, Alfieri's tragedies have excellencies compensating liberally for those defects. Some characters have real grandeur, and are more than represented, they are carved with the terrible dagger of the tragic hater of tyrants, as Parini called him. The setting is felicitous; the psychologic analysis, fruit of quiet meditation, seems true to nature, if wanting in breadth and deep insight. Nor do these tragedies lack passages of vigorous eloquence, or scenes that delight and move by bold conflicts of feeling. He did not always confine himself within the narrow limits of the

patriotic drama. In *Mirra,* for example, he puts upon the stage an incestuous perversion of sentiment; in *Saul* an inward dissension of spirit that is highly poetic. *Saul* (1782), in which are some beautiful lyrics, is a masterpiece, one of the most singular dramatic conceptions of the modern theater. In it the author is in part freed from his self-imposed fetters, with the result that it is more varied and more imaginative than some of his other work.

Alfieri lives again in his tragedies; and his prose helps still further to reconstruct his real character. In his Autobiography, frank and vigorous in style but not always pure in idiom, he minimizes or exaggerates many things, but many others he confesses sincerely. The same civic and political conception that produced the tragedies animates the *Panegirico di Plinio a Traiano,* in which he imagines Pliny counselor of liberty to the Emperor Trajan of Rome; and it is theoretically explained in the three books, *Del principe e delle lettere* and is treated in *Della tirannide.* With these may be named *L'Etruria liberata,* a poem on the murder of Duke Alessandro de' Medici by Lorenzino; *La virtú sconosciuta,* ("Obscure Virtue"), a dialogue in praise of his great friend Francesco Gori Gandellini of Siena, who "stood humbly in his shop trading in silk," but was generously sensitive for the welfare of his country; some of the *Epigrammi* and, in great part, the *Satire,* which are most original; in them the poet scourges all that he had observed in his time in Europe which was hateful and contemptible, all that hindered the civil regeneration he longed for. And, lastly, his *Rime,* some of which are most beautiful, resound with sentiments of liberty; for the lyric Alfieri was wrongly obscured by Alfieri the author of tragedies. All these writings, and the translations he left of Sallust, of the *Æneid,* of some comedies of Terence, of some Greek tragedies, of the *Rane* of Aristophanes, attest the long

study and the great love he gave to the authors of classic antiquity.

The work of Alfieri and of Parini had an influence felt by all succeeding Italian literature. On the other hand, that of Goldoni, who forms with them the triad of our Revival, did not have a wide and lasting influence, by reason of changed theatrical conditions.

Carlo Goldoni, born in Venice February 25, 1707, read comedies with avidity even as a child; at eight years of age he sketched a comedy himself; while he was at Rimini, attending to philosophic studies, he ran away to Chioggia with a company of comedians. He was expelled from the College Ghislieri in Pavia, where he had entered in 1723, for a satire against the women of that city. At Feltre, where he was coadjutor of the chancelor of the criminal court, he wrote two little dramas. After being graduated in law at Padua (1731), he began to practise as an advocate; but his mind was full of fantasies and tragedies. From Milan, where he had been received as a gentleman of the chamber with the Venetian ambassador, he returned in 1734 to Venice with a comedy company, and had a tragedy *(Belisario)* and other dramas acted there. Two years later he followed the company for whom he labored to Genoa, and returned with a wife and the office, more troublesome than lucrative, of consul of that Republic.

About this time he began to carry into effect the theatrical reform that he had long cherished in thought. Together with the Comedy of Masks, then on the decline, written comedies held the stage; they were of the class of those by the Abbot Pietro Chiari, of Brescia,—author of romances undeservedly celebrated in the eighteenth century, that is, they were inconsequent and full of bizarre adventure. Goldoni, planning to inaugurate the comedy of character inspired by the realities of life, began with the drama of masks, amplifying the written

parts and diminishing those left to the maskers. Thus he developed such germs in it as were good and fecund; and his first attempt of this kind was the *Momolo cortesàn* (1737-'8), a comedy not yet completely written. After an interruption of several years, five of which he passed at Pisa practising law and seeking to accustom himself to the use of the Tuscan language, he returned in 1748 to Venice, with the leading comedian Girolamo Medebac, who assigned to him an annual provision of four hundred ducats; and here he wrote in 1750-'1, for the theater San Angelo, among others, the famous *Sedici commedie nuove* ("Sixteen New Comedies"). But he did not carry on his reform without opposition; for the *abate* Chiari vied with him for the favor of the public, and his ideas were vivaciously combated by Carlo Gozzi (1720-1806), a Venetian and a brother of the more celebrated Gaspare. He, entering into the dispute between Chiari and Goldini, made sport of both in a species of burlesque almanac and in the satiric poem, *Marfisa bizzarra*. Then, in order to prove that any novelty whatever, even if puerile, could attract people to the theater, he took subjects from the collections of Oriental novels, and from other sources, and wrote some dramatic *fiabe* ("fairy tales"): *L'Amore delle tre melarancie* ("The Loves of the Three Oranges"), *Turandot, L'augellin bel verde* ("The Beautiful Green Bird"), and others. These, acted by the company of the harlequin, Sacchi, met with great success; and they still please by their oddity, which is accompanied by a certain vigor of imagination. Goldoni, who had left Medebac at the close of 1752, on account of serious dissensions, and had gone to the theater San Luca, owned by the patrician Francesco Vendramin, now, grown weary of the sojourn at Venice, embittered for him by these literary contests, accepted, in 1762, the management of the Italian Theater in Paris. But even in the capital of France he had to struggle against heavy

obstacles, on account of the changed taste of the audiences, which were satisfied only with improvised comedies; and after two years he was about to return to Italy when he was entrusted with the task of teaching Italian to the royal princesses, with lodging at court and a large salary. He began to write comedies again, and produced two in French; one, the *Burbero benefico* ("The Beneficent Bear"), written in 1771, is still represented; it has beautiful scenes, and characters drawn in masterly style. In 1787 he began writing, in French also, his *Memorie*—which have been translated, badly, but not by him; they are a narrative of his work and his adventurous life, sincere, lively, and free from boastfulness. But the Revolution deprived him of the income he was receiving, and threw him into poverty, in which he passed the closing years of his life, sighing for his far-away native land. When, on the 7th of February, 1793, during the Reign of Terror, the restitution of his income was decreed upon the proposal of the tragic Jacobin poet Joseph Chénier, brother of the famous André Chénier, it was found that the old dramatist had died the day before.

Carlo Goldoni wrote tragedies, tragi-comedies, and comedies of masks; but his name is connected only with the regular comedy. He wrote in every style: in the manner of the *cinquecento* and in the French manner; intricate plots and carefully drawn characters, historical and imaginary; he wrote the Italian language, in Venetian throughout, in a mingling of pure Italian and various dialects; in prose, in Martellian verse, in unrhymed hendecasyllables, with varied accents and in varied measure. In the *commedia a soggetto* Goldoni preserved the mirthfulness proper to it. This form of Italian drama, humble in origin, aim, and character, he may be said to have remodeled, putting new blood into it by means of a judicious and moderate imitation of Molière, while

reverting to classic tradition, declining but not wholly extinct in our drama. Cesarotte thought that Goldoni might have approached more nearly to Molière if he had had as much learning as natural ability, if he had written a little more correctly, if his ridicule had been at times more delicate, if his circumstances had permitted him to write a smaller number of comedies and to elaborate them more. But even as it is, notwithstanding his superficial treatment of some psychologic problems, and his want of variety and clearness in expression, Goldoni is the greatest of Italian writers of comedy, and certainly one of the most noteworthy of European dramatists, because of his natural intuition of the needs of the stage, his love for the study and observation of reality, his lively picturing of the Venetian life of his time, his fertility in amusing inventions, and finally because of the spirited mirthfulness of the dialogue, which is especially good in the comedies in vernacular, where he is not placed at a disadvantage by the weak, faded, and impure language of eighteenth-century writers. Hence the perennial freshness of his comedies, whose artistic value is attested by the fact that *La locandiera di spirito* ("The Witty Landlady"), *La serva amorosa* ("The Amorous Servant-Maid"), *Il burbero benefico* ("The Beneficent Bear"), *Il ventaglio* ("The Fan"), are still acted on our stage, as well as some of the comedies in dialect, giving us relief with their healthy joviality from the dreary nebulosity of the new Scandinavian and the German drama.

Although Goldoni had no real influence in giving a new direction to Italian literature, he naturally did not lack imitators of mediocre ability, as the Marquis Francesco Albergati Capacelli (1728-1804), of Bologna, a gentleman fond of gay living and of the stage, who wrote comedies to be recited at his villa, which are good as pictures of the manners of his time; the Paduan Antonio

Sografi (1759-1818), more happy where he followed Goldoni's manner than in his attempts at historic drama; and Camillo Federici, whose real name was Giambattista Liassolo or Viassolo (1749-1802), of Garessio, near Mondovi, who wrote many comedies using final recognitions and other stage artifices, and gaining tremendous applause. But, throughout the century, other influences, coming from foreign sources operated contemporaneously upon our drama. Some writers, among them Federici, were inspired by the sentimental, melancholy dramas of the German August Kotzebue. Albergati and Gaspare Gozzi translated French comedies and tragedies. Gozzi's versions are, in truth, very poor,—the tragedy nerveless, the comedy without wit or vivacity; nor can anything better be said for his stage compositions of the class called at that time tragi-comedies; the versification is careless, the action slow. But he wrote for the stage against his will, driven by necessity to "put his soul in the balances and sell his brain to the drama," as he wrote in his *Sermoni;* and his name, which, after the three great ones of which we have just spoken, is most to be remembered, among the many that have come down to us from the eighteenth century, is attached to a very different class of literature.

Gaspare Gozzi (1713-1786) a Venetian of a noble but decayed family, was married at the age of twenty-five to Luisa Bergalli, called in Arcadia Irminda Partenide. Inept at managing her household, and infatuated with verse, she wasted his patrimony, and then, in 1758, undertook the management of the theater San Angelo, in which she failed, reducing herself, her husband, and their five children to the miseries of penury. He was therefore obliged to take up the uncongenial work of translating and compiling for booksellers. In 1760 he asked of Marco Foscarini—a learned patrician, author of a valued history of Venetian literature, who had under-

taken to protect him—the vacant professorship of Greek and Latin literature at the University of Padua. Unfortunately, he did not know Greek well enough, and the chair was given to a rhetorician, Clemente Sibiliato. But two years later he obtained a permanent office, the censorship of printing, to which other responsibilities were afterward added, so that he could restore to some extent the fortunes of his family. But his health was enfeebled, and while at Padua in 1777, he threw himself, in an access of fever, out of a window into a canal below. Having been rescued, he received affectionate care from the noble Caterina Dolfin Tron and afterward from his second wife. He died nine years later.

Gozzi was above all a critic, discerning, versed in classic literature, and a student of the modern, with the masterpieces of which he was familiar either in the original or in translations; he was endowed with fine taste and with a mind sensitive to the most varied and contrasted manifestations of the beautiful. In the so-called Defense of Dante, that is, the *Giudizio degli antichi poeti sopra la moderna censura di Dante attribuita ingiustamente a Virgilio* ("Judgment of the Ancient poets on the Modern Criticism of Dante unjustly Attributed to Virgil") he confuted with subtlety, with fulness of argument and rigor of logic, the "Virgilian Letters" of Bettinelli. Doubtless this work aided not a little in the revival of the study of Dante which is among the glories of this period of reawakening in thought and art.

In *L'Osservatore* ("The Observer"), his principal work (1761-'2), Gozzi treats in elegant style, and with finely-shaded language, a wide variety of subjects—especially moral, philosophical, and literary—in the forms of dialogues, discussions, sketches, novels, letters, allegories. In his journalistic chronicle of events in Venice, he approaches the vivacity of Sacchetti; in his fables and dialogues the simplicity of the Greeks; in a periodical

he followed the model of Addison's *Spectator,* which he knew in a French translation. Among his numerous other writings should be especially recorded, besides the *Lettere diverse, Il mondo morale* ("The Moral World"), a sort of allegoric romance (1760); the *Gazzetta Veneta* (1760-1), another periodical from which a number of tales were extracted after the author's death, and, above all, the *Sermoni,* in blank verse finely elaborated, wherein the author shows himself an exquisite stylist, no less than an urbanely acute moralist.

Another critical writer of the same time, as much less elegant as he was more robust and singular, was a Piedmontese who had more than one moral and literary trait in common with the dramatist of Asti (Alfieri); he too was restless, impetuous, sincere, enamored of Italy.

Giuseppe Baretti, born April 24, 1719, in Turin, of a family originally from Rivalta Bormida in Monferrato, led a life tumultuous even for one of his indocile and independent character. On account of family quarrels he left his father's house in 1735, and went to an uncle at Guastalla, where he was generously directed in his studies by Carlo Cantoni, a humorist and story-writer of some ability. From there he went to Venice, thence to Milan; there he frequented the literary gatherings of *Casa Imbonati,* read at the reëstablished Academy of the *Trasformati* his poetic compositions, some of which he published, and made translations in blank verse—quite mediocre, in truth—of Ovid's *Amores* and *Remedia Amoris.*

In the following years he was at Cuneo, Turin, and again at Venice. In 1751 he went to London, where he remained till 1760, teaching Italian and attending to various publications. After traversing Portugal, Spain, and France, he returned to Italy, where he stayed six years. He began at Milan to publish accounts of his travels in *Lettere familiari a' suoi fratelli* ("Familiar Letters to His Brothers"); of these the second volume of

the four he had in mind appeared at Venice; and between 1763 and 1765 he issued the first twenty-five numbers of the *Frusta letteraria* ("Literary Whip"), falsely dated from Roverto. The Signoria having prohibited the publication of this too pugnacious periodical, on the pretext that it had spoken ill of Bembo, Baretti, after issuing eight numbers more at Ancona, falsely dated from Trent, which were directed against his most formidable adversary, Appiano Buonafede, concluded to return to his former quiet and laborious life in free England. He was honored in London, where he profited by his Italian-English Dictionary and various writings in English, aiming to set Italy and the Italians in a true light. His trial for murder, in consequence of his having killed a man in self-defense, shows the esteem and affection he had inspired, since famous men came forward to testify in his favor. He had, in fact, in London, and in other parts of the United Kingdom, friends not less illustrious than liberal to him, like Lord Charlemont and Dr. Samuel Johnson. In 1768 he had been elected secretary for foreign correspondence of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts. Having accumulated considerable money, he traveled in 1768-'9 through France, Flanders and Spain, and returned in 1770 to Italy, but only for a few months. London was now his city of residence; he continued writing and publishing with indomitable vigor of mind and body, was pensioned by the King, and remained in London till his death, May 5, 1789.

A sincere admirer of the English, and of their literary versatility and genius, Baretti was largely under their influence in his work; hence the breadth and independence of his standards. In art he had an eye to the great of every time and place; he wrote in both English and French; he admired Berni and Metastasio, as well as Calderon and Lope de Vega; also Corneille, whom he translated in his youth into indifferent verse, as well as

Shakespeare, whom he defended with ardor against Voltaire. His tastes are not ours; for him Dante's *Commedia* was a thing obscure and tedious and Goldoni's reform was foolishness; in irritation and hatred for blank verse, he thought tragedies should be written in octaves and terzets.

On the other hand, Baretti belongs to the moderns in his freedom of judgment without regard to prejudices of school and caste, his aversion to pretentious pedantry, and to the fruitless waste of time and brains over erudite trifles or archæologic minutiæ. Paradoxes, perversions, unjust praise of mediocrity and unjustifiable intemperance of language were not lacking in the *Frusta letteraria,* in which, hiding under the name of "Aristarco Scannabue," the bold and sarcastic Piedmontese dealt blows to right and left. But that "frusta" of his made the finical poetasters jump, exterminated the crowd of Arcadian *pastorellerie,* burst the iridescent soapbubbles of the Frugonians; it was in his hands, in short, an instrument of literary regeneration, foreshadowing, also, by the connection between letters and manners, a moral and social regeneration.

Aside from invective, Baretti made it his aim to give his countrymen a literature full of thought, like that of the British, but Italian in substance and form, in his descriptive prose and in various discussions. In the Letters, and in a *Scelta di lettere familiari fatta per reso degli studiosi di lingua italiana* (1779), there is richness of observation and research, warmth of sentiment, and a style lucid and far removed from "academic starchiness."

The noble examples, and the sensible admonitions, of Parini and Baretti could not avail to extinguish at one stroke the silly *poesia d'occasione;* the collections of rhymes on births, on deaths, and on taking the veil—lyric scourge of the eighteenth century—continued cheerfully to the end of it. But little by little they fell into discredit, and

the intonations and forms of the classics were resumed in the lyric with more spirit than before.

Agostino Paradisi (1736-1783), of Vignola, a patrician of Reggio in the Emilia, imitated Horace in the form of his odes, but drew his ideas from the manners of his own time. Luigi Ceretti (1738-1808), of Modena, who, despite his small share of prudence and good breeding, held the chair of Roman history in the University of his native city, wrote lyrics poor in ideas and sentiment, as was natural in a man who had no distaste for petty gossip and ribaldry; but his lines were not destitute of ease and sometimes of a splendor of form which he too borrowed from the great poet of Venosa. Other poets native to the Duchy of the Este followed the same course in art: Francesco Cassoli (1749-1812), Luigi Lamberti (1759-1813), and Giovanni di Agostino Paradisi (1760-1826), all three of Reggio, whom we shall find again among the poets of the Republic and those of the Italian Kingdom.

Parini was imitated by Giuseppe Zanoia (1752-1817), of Genoa, and by some others in the form of the *sermone*. But in this he divided the field with Gozzi, whose influence is shown in the work of Ippolito Pindemonte together with others of less celebrity, and that of the priest Angelo Dalmistro (1754-1839), a Venetian born in the island of Murano, his disciple, friend, and admirer, who besides the *sermone* has left epistles in verse, translations, and various poems, in which he shows himself a writer of sane literary taste, most studious of the classics and of his own language.

A manner all his own is used in his satire by the Abate Giambattista Casti (1724-1803), of Acquapendente, especially noted for some indecent tales in verse. He was at Vienna at the court of Joseph II, visited the principal cities of Europe with the son of the minister Kaunitz, was appointed to the office of imperial poet by the Em-

peror Francis I, and died in Paris, a friend of the Bonapartes, but an enemy to Napoleon. To this venal and impudent epicurean we owe the *Poema tartaro,* in twelve cantos, contemptuously describing the court of St. Petersburg and Catherine II under other names; and the *Animali parlanti* ("Talking Animals"), wherein, reviving the old form of animal poems that date from "Reynard, or the Romance of the Fox," the author devotes twenty-six cantos to the satiric portrayal of the usages, laws, and prejudices of his time. Casti is verbose and neglectful in form, but he has an independent style of his own and is not deficient in wit.

The Parinian poetry, inasmuch as it aimed to educate, was connected with the literature of the fable, which had a more explicit moral purpose. Near the close of the first half of the century, Tommaso Crudeli (1703-1745), of Poppi in the Casentino, noted for the persecutions he had suffered from the Holy Office, wrote fables felicitously imitating La Fontaine. In 1789, Bertola, according to the norm he had established for this class of literature in a *Saggio sopra la favola* ("Essay on the Fable"), gave some fair examples of it. About the same time, fables and apologues had been published in large numbers by Pignotti. Luigi Fiacchi, with the Grecian name Il Clasio (1754-1825), of Scarperia in Mugello, a benevolent priest who taught philosophy and took part in the labors of the academy Della Crusca, aimed to educate children pleasantly in the hundred fables that he had published in many editions between 1795 and 1807. The Milanese Gaetano Perego, for certain *Favole sopra i doveri sociali ad uso delle scuole* ("Fables on Social Duties, for the Use of Schools"), not published till 1804, received a gold medal in 1796, awarded by judges, one of whom was Parini.

Lorenzo Mascheroni (1750-1800), of Bergamo, owes not a little to the author of *Il Giorno,* for his art in the

Invito a Lesbia Cidonia, which is the only truly savory fruit of that Arcadian production of poetry on scientific themes which was justly called the *arcadia della scienza.* In an age when the eclogue had become the vehicle of the "arid truth," and a little of everything was described and taught in Georgic poems—physics, astronomy, philosophy, social ethics, æsthetics, from the *Coltivazione dei Riso* by Giambattista Spolverini to the *Sala di fisica sperimentale* by Barbieri, and from the *Coltivazione dei Monti* by Bartolommeo Lorenzi to the *Moda,* the *Fragole* ("Strawberries"), the *Perle,* the *Armonia* of Count Giambattista Roberti, better known by his Æsopian fables—in such an age the *Invito* of the famous professor of mathematics at the Athenæum of Pavia to the Countess Paolina Secco-Suardo Grismondi, of Bergamo, called in Arcadia Lesbia Cidonia, to visit the scientific cabinets of that University, appears to be, and truly is, a new thing because of its variety of subject and its parsimony of color, although written near the close of the century, in 1793.

Mascheroni Lazzaro Spallanzani (1729-1799), of Scandiano, a famous naturalist, who also taught in the University of Pavia, and who added to scientific ability the rarer quality of writer, carried to perfection a happy combination of truth patiently sought with the spirit of artistic genius, which, initiated by Galileo, was practised in the first half of the eighteenth century. Then, while versifiers gamboled in Arcadia; while the romance, the novel, and the jocose poem continued to drag out an insipid life; while in the field of chivalric poetry only the facile and witty *Ricciardetto* by Monsignor Niccolò Forteguerri, of Pistoia, published posthumously in 1738, continued with some innovations the traditions, and, in part, the material of the *Morgante,* the *Furioso,* the *Innamorato,* re-made by Berni, Manfredi, the two Zanotti, and Ghedini, all of Bologna, flourished in the first fifty

years of the eighteenth century, and applied themselves to give new life to the literature of Italy.

Eustachio Manfredi (1675-1734) was an able mathematician, a famous student of astronomy and of hydraulics, a professor at Bologna University and an associate of the Academies of Science of Paris and London; but he devoted his leisure entirely to literary studies; and, as in science he had made war on the last remnant of the scholastic method, so in art he exerted himself to destroy what remained of the vacuous and notorious tumidity of the poets of the *secento,* returning in his verses, few but good, to the manner of Petrarch of the *cinquecentists* and of the classics. Two other scientists, Fernando Antonio Ghedini (1684-1768) and Francesco Maria Zanotti (1692-1777), avoided the perverted taste of their age, the first in his *Rime* and *Lettere,* the second in many writings on various subjects and in various styles. Zanotti, a man of subtle intellect and great learning, treated a speculative theme in his *Filosofia morale,* rhetoric in *Dell' arte poetica,* the fine arts in three famous discourses, and physics in the *Dialoghi della forza dei corpi che chiamano viva* ("Dialogues on Vital Energy"). He was at the same time an elegant Latinist, as shown in his extended history of the Institute of Science at Bologna, and a connoisseur in Italian speech, as revealed in his works in that language, admirable for clearness, grace, and restraint in style. His brother Giampietro, a painter, left some good work in literature but is much less famous than Francesco, who was made an associate by the Academies of Berlin and London, and held in honor by Fontenelle and Voltaire.

Muratori and Zeno, who had pursued historical and philological studies with good results in the first half of the eighteenth century, had a worthy successor in Girolamo Tiraboschi (1731-1794), of Bergamo, a Jesuit, at first professor of eloquence at Milan, then librarian

at Modena. In his full and most important *Storia della letteratura italiana,* permanently useful to students, he gives copious and well arranged information in regard to the letters and the culture of Italy from the remotest times to the year 1700. But, as Tiraboschi's work is deficient in æsthetic criticism, containing a few superficial or erroneous judgments of the authors of whom he speaks, so the other works of the same nature written about the same time in Italy were in general deficient in the solid foundation of facts drawn from documents and other sources. Some works worthy of notice, and yet inferior to Tiraboschi's learned *Biblioteca modenese* (of Modena), are Angelo Fabbroni's *Vitæ Italorum,* Pietro Napoli-Signorelli's *Storia critica dei teatri antichi e moderni* ("Critical History of the Ancient and Modern Drama"), and histories of the fine arts by Francesco Milizia and Luigi Lanzi.

It may be said, in general, that the trans-Alpine "encyclopædism," too much admired, diverted the Italians from patient and profound study. Literary criticism, not associated with learning, is devoted to the setting forth of subjective judgment upon works of art; historical criticism concerns itself with breadth of conception and largeness of design more than with accuracy in facts and correctness of opinion, as is shown in the French and Italian works of Carlo Denina (1731-1813), of Revello in Piedmont, not excluding his lauded history of the *Rivoluzioni d'Italia.*

Italian genius shines more brilliantly in this age in the studies of law and political economy. In the first half of the eighteenth century, Pietro Giannone (1676-1748), of Ischitella in Capitanata, wrote his *Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli.* He made use of his knowledge of law to follow the details of the institutions of Naples and to impugn the legitimacy of the interference of the Church in its civil affairs. This drew upon him the

hatred of the Roman Curia; and after living as a refugee in many places, he was imprisoned in the citadel of Turin upon his return to Savoy, and died in captivity. In the last half of the century Niccola Spedalieri (1740-95), of Bronte in Sicily, published *I diritti dell' Uomo* ("The Rights of Man"), maintaining that the social compact is the work of man, not the ordinance of God, and therefore that nations have the right to depose sovereigns that violate it.

Political economy was first taught in Europe by Antonio Genovesi (1712-1769), of Castiglione in the Salernitano, who occupied a chair in Naples instituted in 1754 by the Florentine Bartolomeo Intieri. He published his lectures in 1765, and is the author of various works for promoting philosophic and scientific culture. In Naples, the most distinguished representative of the philosophic-political school of Vico was Gaetano Filangieri (1752-1788), who, among his many studies, was especially devoted to that of law. In his great work *La scienza della legislazione,* which remained incomplete at his early death, he showed how the laws should conform to varying civil ideas. In a style indifferently good, he expressed noble ideas, in great part original, which give him a place beside Montesquieu and other contemporaneous French writers to whom he owed inspiration. Another writer on legislative reform was Maria Pagano, of Brienza in the Basilicata, a follower of Vico, who at the age of fifty-one died on the gallows in the reaction of 1799.

No less distinguished were some cultivators of these subjects in Milan. The Marquis Cesare Beccaria (1738-'94), professor of Economy in the Gymnasium of Brera, moved the world by his classic work, published in 1764 and immediately translated into the other languages of Europe: *Dei delitti e delle pene* ("Of Crimes and Penalties"). In it he inveighed against the cruelty of judicial

proceedings at that time and opposed torture and the death penalty, in the name of the new principles of philanthropy. The theme had been suggested to him by Count Pietro Verri (1728-1797), his fellow-citizen, friend and companion. Verri founded, in 1764, the journal, *Il caffè,* in collaboration with his brother Alessandro, famous for *Le notti Romane,* in which are imaginary conversations with the shades of the Scipios concerning Roman and Christian civilizations. Beccaria and others were also associates in *Il caffè.* In this journal, of which he was the soul, as well as in his other varied writings, among them a history of Milan, Pietro Verri proposes reforms and provisions of public utility, combating errors, disregarding rules and traditions, and putting aside obsolete moral and social prejudices.

Thus, even before the great whirlwind of the Revolution arose to eradicate abuses and privileges, a host of literati, philosophers, jurisconsults, and economists were making war in Italy against such abuses and privileges, and, while awakening the intellect of the Italian people, were gradually educating the national conscience. When, therefore, the doctrines of the Revolution were forced upon us by foreign arms, they found a soil prepared to receive them.

CHAPTER X

CLASSICISTS AND ROMANTICISTS

FROM the French victories in 1796 by which the political order of Italy was subverted, to the restoration of the old seigniories by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, our history ran through an agitated and hazardous period. There is no doubt

that the French conquest, speaking to us of independence and liberty, invoking the memories of our remote and glorious past, materially contributed to awaken in us the consciousness and the sentiment of "Italianity," and having broken down the barriers between State and State, started our country on the road that was to lead it ultimately to unity. But the great whirlwind of the French Revolution, breaking suddenly upon us, left us appalled and almost bewildered; between opposing principles and the contradictory impulses arising from them, we were perplexed, mutable, discordant. All this is reflected in the life and the art of Monti, chief of our literati in that age.

Vincenzo Monti was born at Alfonsine, near Ravenna, February 19, 1754, and lived in Rome after 1778, amid the aristocracy and clergy. He began as an Arcadian, a Frugonian, and an imitator of a poet who was himself an imitator, Alfonso Varano, a Ferrarese, of the signors of Camerino,—his *Visione* in *terza rima* being imitated from Dante, Bibbiena, and Milton's *Paradise Lost.* But in 1779 Monti, inspired by an antique bust that was brought to light, wrote the *Prosopopea di Pericle,* initiating a new lyric style, frankly classic, which he carried to a greater height of spirit and perfection five years later in the ode *Al signor di Montgolfier.*

This became the prevailing tendency in lyric art; for Cassoli interpreted admirably in some of his odes the subtler meanings of Horace; Lamberti built his own verses on classic theories, and Giovanni Paradisi imitated the lyric poet of Venosa even more closely than the other Emilians (natives of the Emilian provinces). Monti interwove it skilfully with various imitations from the ancients and moderns. Thus he made Alfieri his model for *Aristodemo,* a tragedy on a Greek subject, which was represented first in Parma, afterward, in January, 1787, in Rome, where Goethe was one of the applauding spec-

tators. A year later he put upon the stage *Galeotto Manfredi,* a mediæval subject, the form classic, with Shakespearean reminiscences; and about the same time *Caio Gracco,* showing still more plainly the influence of the English dramatist. The sentiments and tendencies of Monti in this first period of his life, while he was the poet of the Roman aristocracy and of the prelates of the Curia, are reflected in the *Bassvilliana,* a poem of four cantos in *terzine,* on the subject of the murder in 1793, by the mob in Rome, of the Frenchman Hugues Bassville, secretary of the French legation at Naples, who had come there in the interest of the Republican propaganda. In this poem Monti condemns severely the work of the Revolutionists; as to the art, it is on the lines of Varano but far surpasses him, while it approaches Dante so nearly in certain imagery and characters of style that he was saluted, in most extravagant praise, as "Dante redivivus." He has, as usual, an eye to the classics, and grafts on the imitation of these models some reminiscences of Bibbiena and Klopstock; the whole garbed in splendid verse, with a residuum of Frugonian sonority.

The *Bassvilliana* is of the year 1793, and of the same year is the *Musagonia,* classic in plan and form, where, among other expressions, Monti exhorts the Emperor of Austria to move against "the impious seed of Brennus." But in March, 1797, Marmont, Bonaparte's aide-de-camp, having come to Rome, Monti left the city with him, passing at a bound from an enemy to a friend of Republicanism. The change did not take place without comments and derision on the part of his adversaries. At Milan, where Monti went from Bologna, capital of the Cispadan Republic, he was assailed with violence by Francesco Gianni (1750-1822), a Roman and a famous extempore poet. But the sincerity of the transmutation of "Abate Monti" into "Citizen Monti" is attested by some poems inspired by the love of liberty—*Il fana-*

tismo ("Fanaticism"), *La Superstizione, Il Pericolo* ("The Danger"), in *terza rima,* and the *Prometeo* ("Prometheus"), glorifying Bonaparte in most admirable blank verse. "To promote the love of Latin and Greek, which we have long neglected to the greatest detriment of our poetry," is now Monti's declared intention, in pursuance of which, as the standard-bearer of a numerous host, he unfurls the banner of "Neoclassicism."

When the Austrians occupied Lombardy in 1799, the author of the vigorous canzonets, *Per il congresso di Udine* and other ardent Republican poems, was obliged to go into exile. He went to Paris, where he busied himself in translating into octaves Voltaire's *Pucelle d'Orléans* and completing *Caio Gracco.* After the battle of Marengo (June 14, 1800) he returned to his own country and was chosen Professor of Eloquence and Poetry in the University of Pavia. At this time he wrote the ode, *Bella Italia, amate sponde* ("Beautiful Italy, beloved shores"), and the *Mascheroniana,* a poem in terzets inspired by the death of Lorenzo Mascheroni, an exile with him at Paris. The plan of it, suggested by the *Commedia,* is nebulous and at times incoherent; but it is vibrant with strong emotion; it is in truth Dantesque as regards the variety, the harmony, and the splendor, even excessive, of its style. It expresses temperate political ideas; the good and the evil of the Revolution are set forth. A man of such opinions could pass easily to glorification of the Emperor.

Monti was taken from the University in 1804, and was named poet of the Italian Government and assistant counselor to the Minister of the Interior for the fine arts in relation with letters; later, after the proclamation of Napoleon I, he had also the title of Historiographer of the Kingdom. But he wrote no histories; he celebrated the events of the Empire and of the Kingdom of Italy in lyrics and other poems. Specially noteworthy among

these is *Il bardo della Selva Nera* ("The Bard of the Black Forest"), which returns to the so-called "bardic" poetry, cultivated in England by Gray and Macpherson and in Germany by Klopstock, which writers Monti had in mind in writing his "polimetro"; and *La spada di Federico II* ("The Sword of Frederick II"), where the principal incident is suggested by one in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*—a hand dripping with blood tries to prevent Napoleon from grasping the sword placed upon the tomb of the Prussian King. Meantime Monti worked at a translation of the *Iliad,* using a Latin version, since he did not know Greek well enough; it is among the best of his writings, and is still read with delight and profit by those unable to enjoy the original. It was published in 1810, and again, after revision, two years later, gaining immediate applause by the fluidity, richness and harmony of the language and the versification.

When the Austrian domination was restored in Lombardy, Monti rendered homage to the new masters—*Mistico omaggio* ("Mystical Homage"), *Ritorno d'Astrea* ("Return of Astræa"), *Invito a Pallade* ("Invitation to Pallas")—and he succeeded in retaining a part of the liberal pension he had enjoyed. He was invited to collaborate in the *Biblioteca italiana,* a literary journal of reactionary principles, founded and maintained by the new Government. In the last years of his life he devoted himself to the study of language, opposing the purists in a *Proposta di correzioni ed aggiunte al Vocabolario della crusca.* But he did not neglect the muses; for at this time he took up again, but did not finish, the *Feroniade,* a poem begun in his youth, and published an idyl, *Le nozze di Cadmo e d'Ermione* ("The Nuptials of Cadmus and Hermione"); and in opposition to the romantic school, of which we shall soon speak, he wrote a *sermone* in defense of mythology, splendid in style, quite weak in argument. His old age was saddened by physical in-

firmities and moral afflictions; he died October 13, 1828.

Though mutable in his opinions, by a singular mobility of imagination, Vincenzo Monti was neither a coward nor an egoist; he loved his country, and was affectionate and benevolent. In art, it cannot be denied that he did not leave a great impress by his versatile and fecund genius. The *Bassvilliana* was warmly admired, and still is, in parts. We prefer to it the *Mascheroniana,* which is less redundant and resonant, the *Bellezza dell' Universo,* a poem that has surprisingly fine passages, and the *Feroniade,* a poem in blank verse, exquisitely elaborated, which celebrated with mythologic imagery the draining of the Pontine Marshes undertaken by Pius VI. Further, some scenes of his tragedies and some of his lyrics as the ode to Montgolfier, the *canzone, Per il congresso di Udine,* and a sonnet on the portrait of his daughter, merit the popularity they have enjoyed. Monti, as has been seen, owed his first inspiration to the Arcadians; suggestions of imagery and meters came to him not only from Frugoni, but from Onofrio Minzoni and Giuliano Cassiani, both authors of the eighteenth century; one celebrated for hyperbolic sonnets—*Quando Gesú coll' ultimo lamento,* and others—and one for descriptive sonnets, among them a famous one on the rape of Proserpine. But later Monti, harmonizing imitation of the classics with that of great modern writers, and turning at length to a stricter classicism, found his proper manner, the chief traits of which are splendor of style, richness of color, and the orderly flow of the measure; he was hailed as the prince of the Italian poets of his time. But vigor of conception, elevation of spirit, productive and animating ideality are deficient in the art of this marvelous maker of verse. Under the veil of the beautiful imagery and the mythologic ornament one seeks, vainly for the most part, for a true poetic content. The poetry of historical events, which prevails in Monti's work, held the

field among us in the age when he was in his glory. The *Pronea* (1807) of Cesarotti, which is incense to Bonaparte, justly seemed to Foscolo "all melodramatic cadences, visions, and phrase-making." The poetry of the Veronese, Giuseppe Giulio Ceroni, is in general inspired by the love of liberty and country, as also is that of Antonio Gasparinetti of Ponte di Piave near Treviso, who fought with Foscolo in the army of the Cisalpine Republic.

Teresa Bandettini ("Amarilli Etrusca" was her name in Arcadia), an extempore poet of Lucca, turned at this time toward history and politics the inspiration that had previously been *rechauffé* in the conservatories of the Academies. Giovanni Pindemonte, brother of the more celebrated Ippolito, a democrat and author of tragedies after the manner of Alfieri, followed with song the tumultuous course of events that ran from revolution to reaction. The occurrences of the time were the themes of another poet of distinction, Giovanni Fantoni ("Labindo"), of Fivizzano (1755-1807), who after an adventurous and irregular life, ended as Perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Fine Arts in Carrara.

Fantoni wrote notable political poems, among them the very popular song, *Ora siam piccoli ma cresceremo.* His name, moreover, is connected with Horatian odes on various subjects, which, though not sufficiently polished and homogeneous in style, attesting the lack of the *limæ labor* necessary to every work of art, yet in more than one passage have lyric nerve and impetus; and, aside from these merits in form—the content is in general of small value—they deserve to be read for the imitation, or rather assimilation, of classic meters, attempted in them with criteria not substantially diverse from those followed later by a different genius, Carducci.

Angelo Mazza (1741-1817), of Parma, called in Arcadia "Armonide Elideo," whose first essays were ver-

sions from the English, but who at the same time studied *con amore* the Greek lyrists, especially Pindar, rose to fame through some new forms of art he attempted. Expressing in his poetry a mystic Platonism, he sang among other things *l'aura armonica* or musical harmony; his style and rhythm approached the Frugonian manner. All this sonorous poetry, with its classic style, but cold and empty, with the exception of some elegies by Salomone Fiorentino on the death of his wife, was not entirely without influence on a true and great poet, indeed among the greatest of our age, Ugo Foscolo.

Niccolò Ugo Foscolo was born in Zante, February 6, 1778, of a Venetian father and a Greek mother; he lived in poverty at Venice from 1792 to 1797, enamored of literary studies, and in time writing verses. He was encouraged in his love for poetry by Cesarotti in Padua; the sentiment of Italian liberty was kindled in him by the tragedies of Alfieri; and before he was nineteen he put upon the stage with applause the *Tieste,* a tragedy dedicated to the great Piedmontese, Alfieri, and filled with his spirit and accents. In 1797, the Cispadan Republic having been formed, he went to Bologna as a volunteer in the legion of cavalry. There he wrote an ode, *Bonaparte liberatore,* which was printed at public expense; but meantime, the democratic Government having been established in Venice, he returned at once and obtained public office.

At the fall of the Venetian Republic, he took refuge, sorrowing and raging, in Milan. There he became acquainted with Parini, then an old man, formed a friendship with Monti, afterward his enemy, and worked upon the *Monitore italiano.* At the coming of the Austro-Russians he was enrolled, after various reverses, in the Cisalpine legion and fought under General Massena at the time of the memorable siege of Genoa, where he wrote an ode deservedly celebrated, *A Luigia Pallavacini ca-*

duta da cavallo (1800). After the taking of Genoa and the battle of Marengo, he went to Milan. In these years, 1801-3, he was in love with Antonietta Fagnani-Arese, for whom he wrote another fine ode: *All' amica risanata* ("To the Friend Recovered from Illness"). Then he was in military service in France, 1804-6, in the Italian division added to the French army, with the rank of captain; thence, running from one city to another as from one to another love, he returned to Milan, and there and at Brescia and at Pavia he passed the following years. At Brescia he published his masterpiece, *I Sepolcri*. At Pavia he succeeded Cerretti in the professorship of eloquence that Monti had held, but remained in it only a short time. His life now became still more stormy; he made enemies, he was persecuted by the police; he had to repair to Florence; but his literary occupations were not interrupted.

When the star of Napoleon turned toward its setting, love of country constrained him to offer his services to the Viceroy and to Italy and reënter the army. But the Austrians re-conquered Milan (1814); and Foscolo, not listening to the allurements of the new Government, nobly entered in 1815 the way of exile. He went first to Switzerland, and a year later to London, rejoicing in the metropolis of free England as a writer and a patriot. There, with the income from his literary labors, he imagined that he could live as a *gran signore;* but, having wasted his considerable earnings, he was compelled, in order to pay his debts, to give lessons and write articles on Italian affairs for the English journals. He died at Turnham Green, near London, September 10, 1827.

Although mutable in his love affairs, and not immune from errors, Foscolo, by the sound temper of his character, by his loyalty to his political ideas, by the warm sentiment that he infused into his verses, belongs more really than Monti to the generation that prepared the

redemption of Italy. His soul lives again in his numerous and important letters; all his literary work is informed by a high artistic spirit. For if he began, as always happens, by imitating the most famous of the poets, he soon found his own path and pursued it with steady enthusiasm, repudiating the defective verses of his youth.

Foscolo's name is especially linked to two of his works —the *Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis* and the *Sepolcri.* The former, published in 1798, with the title *Vera storia di due amanti infelici* ("True story of two unhappy lovers"), and with its final revision and new title republished in 1802, is a psychologic romance in the form of letters, resembling Goethe's *Sorrows of Werther,* but with the addition of an elevated patriotic tone, which had a great influence upon the Italians of the time. The hero of the German romance is driven to suicide solely by unfortunate love; that of the Italian in addition by grief for the calamity of his country. In *Jacopo Ortis,* Foscolo, taking the first inspiration, but nothing more, from an actual event, represented himself "save for the name and the consummated suicidal act." To-day this romance, by its continuous and somewhat exaggerated sentimentality, by a something forced about it, fails of the effect it had at one time; but it has eloquent passages and beautiful descriptions.

Much more important, and in respect of art infinitely superior, is the *Sepolcri* (1807), one of the most highly lyric poems that Italy can boast, in which, as Carducci well observes, "are united in one sole and sublime harmony the accents of the discourse and the hymn, of the elegy and the satire, of the tragedy and the epic." The fundamental idea of the piece, which is not long, consisting of two hundred and ninety-five unrhymed hendecasyllabic lines, is connected with the flowering of sepulchral poetry throughout Europe. But Foscolo has devel-

oped his theme with a great variety of tones and movements, with intimate profundity of sentiment. He has given the poem a Grecian purity of line, a wisely tempered flow of harmony, an elevation of thought otherwise unknown to our art after Petrarch and before Leopardi. With intent to show the moral and civil utility of the cult of the tomb, arousing the Italian conscience by the remembrance and the examples of the great dead, Foscolo, upon the simple scheme of a didactic poem, so many of which were written in the eighteenth century, elaborates brilliant and splendid ornamentation of imagery, lyric effects that move to wonder and sympathy.

Among other poems of Foscolo's the first place is taken by the odes already named, admirable for flexibility of movement and for the classic limpidity of the poetic fancies. The *Grazie* draws its inspiration from the purest sources of ancient art. The idea came to Foscolo "on seeing Canova at work on a group of the Graces." He intended to "prepare a series of designs for use in the fine arts," but could not bring it to completion, and left it fragmentary. Again, most beautiful, by the force and sincerity of the sentiment, are some sonnets of this poet, not profuse, but original, which, as with Monti, were inspired by the art of the Greeks and of the Romans. Foscolo succeeded much better than Monti in catching their spirit, aided, perhaps by the Hellenic blood in his veins. On the other hand his tragedies are mediocre—*Tieste, Ajace, Ricciarda;* and much inferior to Monti's is the translation of the *Iliad,* which he attempted but did not finish. As a prose-writer he is worthy of great praise; besides the *Ortis* he left numerous writings on various subjects, affording examples of many styles; for instance, he is eloquent and solemn in the inaugural address read at the Athenæum of Pavia, January 22, 1809, *Dell' origine e dell' ufficio della letteratura;* subtle and graceful in the translation of Laurence

Sterne's *Sentimental Journey;* clear and dignified in his copious critical writings, the most notable of which is an excellent discourse on the text of the *Divina Commedia.* As a critic he is among the best that Italy had before De Sanctis, who renders homage to his distinguished predecessor, pronouncing him "the first of Italian critics to consider a work of art as a psychologic phenomenon and seek the springs of it in the soul of the writer and in the atmosphere of the century in which he was born."

In writing his immortal poem on the *Sepolcri,* Foscolo may have known the design and some parts of a poem upon *Cimiteri,* by Ippolito Pindemonte (1753-1828), of Verona. Although inferior to Monti and Foscolo, Pindemonte ranks next the them amid the host of poets and prose-writers of the time who aimed to approach classic models in their art, while drawing their inspiration and their subjects from contemporary events and from foreign literatures. Pindemonte, a gentleman who, so far from being a reactionist, had in youth shared Alfieri's enthusiasm for the ruins of the Bastile, was of a mild disposition and inclined to melancholy; his many and varied writings in prose and verse are in general lacking in vigor. His translation of the *Odyssey,* a poem less tumultuous than the *Iliad* and therefore more congenial to Pindemonte's nature, has graces of style, but from over care in finish it gives the impression of affectation. The *Epistole* are graceful discussions, critical and moral, in verse. In his pastoral poems and elsewhere, Pindemonte, though a classicist, has a host of melancholy fantasies adapted to the taste of the romanticists. Moreover, if he has an eye to the Greeks and Latins, he owes not a little to writers dear to the romanticists; for in the *Lettere d'una monaca a Federico IV re di Danimarca* ("Letters of a Nun to Frederic IV of Denmark") there is a reminiscence of Pope's "Héloïse to Abélard," and in the romance *Abaritte* of Johnson's *Rasselas;* in his pastoral

poetry he appears to be a disciple of Pope and of Gray, and in the tragedy *Arminio* he imitates Shakespeare. One of his best and most noted pieces is the letter in verse with which he responds to Foscolo's dedication to him of the *Sepolcri.*

Many other versions from the Greeks and from the Latins were made by this school of "classicists" besides the Homeric translations of their leaders. The hymns of Callimachus and Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics* were rendered into fine Italian verse by Diogini Strocchi (1762-1850), of Faenza, the author of some mediocre verse, and didactic and academic prose, intended to defend his own practice against the new theories of art and language. Others took up the instructive class of poem, overworked by the eighteenth-century poets, with better mastery of art and style. Cesare Arici, for example, a Brescian living from 1782 to 1836, though he wrote sacred hymns and other poems, did better work in *La coltivazione degli ulivi* ("olive-trees"), *Il corallo, La pastorizia,* and *L'origine delle fonti* ("springs"). The Alfierian tragic style was adopted, not ineptly, by Francesco Benedetti, of Cortona, who committed suicide at the age of thirty-six, despairing of Italy and of himself after the reverses of 1821.

More conspicuous than these were certain prose-writers of the time. Count Gianfrancesco Galeani Napione (1748-1830), of Turin, who was not prevented from pursuing scholarly and critical studies with profit by the cares of the high offices he held under the Government, wrote with ability *Dell' uso e dei pregi della lingua italiana* (1791), aiming above all to promote the use of pure Italian and Italian sentiment in his native Piedmont, where the tendency was to adopt modes and usages from the French. Father Antonio Cesari (1760-1828), of Verona, made vigorous war against the corruption of the language, so prevalent, as we have seen, in the writers of

the eighteenth century; he took as models the writers of the fourteenth, and by elaborate vocabularies and reprints strove to diffuse a knowledge of the works in the vernacular of that age. His *Dissertazione sopra lo stato presente della lingua italiana* (1810), his dialogue, *The Graces,* where he discusses propriety and elegance of language, the dialogues on the beauties of Dante's *Commedia,* and other writings of his, which he aimed to clothe in the eloquence of the good century, were the inspiration and the basis of the so-called "purism," which, even though sometimes carried to ridiculous excess, contributed to free us from the evil of linguistic slovenliness.

Clementino Vannetti (1754-1795), of Rovereto, a close friend of Cesari, aided him in the Additions to the Della Crusca Dictionary. He wrote discourses, epistles and other poems, and various prose pieces savoring of the *trecento,* which are not destitute of wit and grace. He and others that cannot be mentioned individually, cooperated ably in the work of purifying the language with the good priest of Verona. His precepts were further diffused in Michele Colombo's *Lessons on the Heritage of a Cultured Language* (1812), the little treatise *Dell' elocuzione* (1818), by Paolo Costa, who also wrote elegant verse as well as comments on the *Commedia,* and in Luigi Fornaciari's *Examples of Good Writing* (1829).

Naturally, Father Cesari did not lack opponents and deriders. The greatest authority among them was Vincenzo Monti. Cesarotti, a great advocate of the ideas of his time, who had embellished Homer according to the taste of the eighteenth century, had come forward in 1785 with an *Essay on the Italian Language,* in defense of the idiom corrupted by foreign words and somewhat also by fantastic individual coinages, which was used by contemporary writers. Monti, in the *Proposta* already recorded, declared that he wished the language to be not Tuscan but Italian, making little account of the rights

of popular usage, and bitterly censuring the Della Crusca Dictionary. Monti's son-in-law, Count Giulio Perticari (1779-1822), assisted him in the *Proposta* and wrote two dissertations to show that judicious imitation of the authors of the *trecento* need not involve neglect of those of succeeding centuries.

A middle way between Cesari and Monti was taken by the "dictator" of Italian prose in the first half of the nineteenth century, a writer truly unique and accomplished, Pietro Giordani (1774-1848), of Piacenza. From 1808 to 1815, he was pro-secretary of the Academy of Fine Arts in Bologna, where he formed a friendship with the celebrated Antonio Canova, leader of the classicists in sculpture, as were he and Monti, respectively, in prose and in verse. At Milan, where he lived after he was banished by the restored Papal Government, he collaborated with Monti in defense of classicism, in the *Biblioteca italiana*. Then, having inherited property enough to enable him to live at leisure, he took up his residence in his own city; but in 1824 he was banished thence, and went to Florence, entering the circle of literati gathered about Gian Pietro Viesseux, founder of the celebrated periodical *l'Antologia*. Liberal ideas, philanthropic institutions, civil progress, scientific discoveries, had in him an admirer and an enthusiastic and generous patron. He loved and protected Leopardi and praised him unstintedly; he aided Colletta and, by the *History of Sculpture* Leopaldo Cicognara; in conversation he was scholarly and genial. When he died, at Parma in 1848, many feared that the restoration of the *bello scrivere* to which he was devoted might remain half completed. He left no important and powerful work; but elegies, biographies, sketches, epigraphs, proems and a large correspondence set forth his theories and attest his excellence as a stylist highly finished and often vigorous.

Like Giordani, another prose-writer of the first de-

cades of the nineteenth century, Carlo Botta (1766-1837), of Sangiorgio del Canavese, without rising to the higher levels in art, presents a peculiar and characteristic figure. He followed the fortunes of the French army in the Italian campaign of 1796-'7, as a physician was at the head of the military hospital at Corfu, took part in the provisional government in Piedmont in 1798, was chosen deputy to the legislative body of the Department of the Dora in 1804, took up his residence in Paris, was rector of the Accademia Universitaria of Rouen from 1817 to 1822, and was at last pensioned by Charles Albert and made a Knight of the Order of Civil Merit of Savoy. His *History of the War of Independence of the United States of America* (1809), in Italian, abounding in accurate information concerning an event so important and not before treated in full by any one, was received with great favor and translated into French and English. His *History of Italy from 1789 to 1814* (1824), is better in style, and, notwithstanding a certain disproportion in the parts, is useful and attractive. The continuation of Guicciardini's history of 1789, which he published in 1832, is less valuable, giving evidence of the haste in which it was written. But, on the whole, Botta is a historian, if not always candid and dispassionate, yet with breadth of conception and nobility of sentiment. As a prose-writer he has a solemnity that often becomes tumidity, and elegance of diction a little affected.

Many other historians flourished in this part of the nineteenth century, who were not lacking in excellence of matter and form. Melchiorre Delfico (1744-1821), of Teramo, author of many philosophical and legal writings, is noted above all for his *Historical Memories of the Republic of San Marino.* Lazzaro Papi (1763-1834) of Pontito in the province of Lucca, made a translation of Milton which is praised, and left impartial, candid and judicious *Commentaries on the French Revolution.* To

Vincenzo Coco (1770-1823), of Civita Campomorano in the province of Molise, we owe, not only *Platone in Italia,* a philosophic-archæologic romance, but also an acute and important *Historical Essay on the Revolution in Naples* of 1799.

Giuseppe Micali (1769-1844), of Leghorn, in his work *L'Italia avanti il dominio dei Romani* ("Italy before the Dominion of the Romans") pointed out a new way of regarding the story of ancient Italy. Pietro Colletta (1775-1831), a Neapolitan, was honored with high military and civil offices under Joachim Murat, and then, after the restoration of the Bourbons, was imprisoned and banished to Moravia, but in 1823 he was allowed to establish himself in Florence. There he formed friendships with Giordani, Leopardi, and Gino Capponi, and wrote a *History of the Kingdom of Naples from 1734 to 1825.* Despite some inaccuracies, even wilful, caused by political passion, the history has moral and civic value; the style is concise and vigorous, and in more than one passage it is admirably eloquent and picturesque.

In contrast with the classic manner, came gradually into our literature, during the early decades of the nineteenth century, a method of art diverse and in certain respects opposed to that, which in turn gave place to a new manner, that of the romanticists. Whence the impulse and the name?

The name came from Germany in the second half of the preceding century. Certain German writers calling themselves Romanticists wished to oppose a national art to the abject imitation of the French classics of the Golden Age, and restore their literature to the characters and forms of the Middle Ages in the Romance languages. It was, then, romanticism, a return of art to the religious, heroic and chivalric ideals of the Middle Ages—spontaneous and national in character with Germanic peoples, artificial and adventitious with us, children of Rome.

In France, where the Revolution and the First Empire had re-invested arts and letters with classic armor, romanticism meant opposition to Jacobin impiety and Napoleonic supremacy; against irreligious ideas it placed the books of Chateaubriand; against Bonaparte, those of Madame de Staël, his fierce adversary. In Italy, as a natural result of the study of foreign literatures, romanticism had gained a footing at the close of the eighteenth century. The sensibility, the tendency to melancholy and gloom, the care given to psychologic analysis, and other elements of romanticism were already scattered through our eighteenth-century literature.

But as a regular system of literary doctrine romanticism appeared first among us with Giovanni Berchet (1783-1851), of Milan. In 1816 he published a pamphlet *Sul cacciatore feroce e sul Eleanora di G. A. Bürger, lettera semiseria di Grisostomo* ("On The Wild Huntsman and the Lenore of G. A. Bürger; a semi-serious letter of Grisostomo"). He imagines that Grisostomo, presenting his son with prose translations of Bürger's two celebrated ballads, takes occasion to say that poetry ought to express only those emotions and sentiments that find an echo in modern souls; adding other opinions, which, taken together, form a kind of manifesto of the new school. A controversy arose immediately, three Milanese journals leading the debate—*Il conciliatore* (1818-19), romantic in art and liberal in politics, *La biblioteca italiana*, and *L'accattabrighe*, classicist and Austrian in politics. (An *accattabrighe* is a quarrelsome or disputatious man). The first-named originated in the house of Count Luigi Porro-Lambertenghi, and among its contributors were men of nobility and patriotism, as Berchet himself, Romagnosi and Melchiorre Gioia; the soul of it was the tutor of Porro's sons, Silvio Pellico (1789-1854), of Saluzzo, a great friend of Foscolo's and author of a tragedy, *Francesca da Rimini* (1815), which excited admiration

mingled with most lively emotion in spectators of every part of Italy, by its sentiment and its patriotism.

But, under the literary contest, political persecution was brooding. Berchet escaped from it by flight, lived in London till 1829, and then traveled through various countries with the Arconati family. In 1848 he saw his Milan again; but the Austrian domination having now been reëstablished, he was compelled to fly, and took up his residence in Turin and did not move again. From far and from near he was always inciting the Italians to battle with his songs. Among the poets of our Restoration, a little turbid and muddy in their impetus, like Alpine torrents, if he was not the least incorrect in form, he rose above the others by force of sentiment, by a singular fierceness of patriotic imagination.

But Silvio Pellico was arrested, tried at Venice, and condemned to death; then, by imperial grace, his sentence was commuted to imprisonment in the fortress of Spielberg, where he languished more than eight years, weakening in mind and body. In 1830 he was discharged from prison, and afterward he devoted himself to works of piety and practical duties. But in 1832 he published *Le mie prigione* ("My Prisons"), a candid and truthful narrative of what he had suffered. His aim was to inspire others with his religious fervor; but without intending it he injured the oppressors of Italy more than if he had loaded them with reproaches. For that little golden book, full of exquisite delicacy of sentiment and in the highest degree suggestive in its simplicity, became deservedly most popular.

The company of the *Conciliatore* being disbanded, Berchet in exile, Pellico in prison, still the classicists did not enjoy *vendetta allegra* ("glad vengeance"). Certain principles of the audacious boreal school were now well established in the consciousness of the Italians; and Monti, rising against them in the *Sermone sulla Mitologia* (1825),

labored in vain. Two years previously Alessandro Manzoni had clearly outlined the programme of the romanticists in a famous letter to the Marquis Cesare d'Azeglio.

Manzoni was born in Milan March 7, 1785, son of the noble Peter and Giulia, daughter of Cesare Beccaria. In time he formed his taste upon the Latin and Italian classics, and among the moderns preferred Parini and Monti At the age of fifteen he made his first attempt in literature, imitating Monti in a poem of democratic spirit in *terzine, Il trionfo della libertà.* In Paris, where he went in 1805 to rejoin his mother, he frequented learned and elegant society, becoming acquainted with Claude Fauriel, a famous man of letters and a student of Italian affairs, who exerted upon him a strong influence. He wrote and published there a poem on the death of Carlo Imbonati, a friend of his mother's, and *Urania,* a poem of classic inspiration. Of this period (1808-10) are his marriage with Enrichetta Blondel, a Protestant, her conversion to the Catholic religion, and the consequent repetition of the nuptial ceremony according to our rite, and the conversion of the poet himself from Voltairianism to sincere faith, which was to be the guide and light to every act of his life as man, as citizen and as author. He returned in 1810 to Milan, and in that city and in the village of Brusuglio devoted himself to reflection and to the composition of works in prose and verse that were to make him famous throughout Europe and cause him to be hailed by common consent the prince of our revived literature. He was absorbed in study, but not so deeply that he could not follow with a watchful and anxious eye the fate of his country, tremble for her, and write in her behalf.

He sought neither honors nor offices, and lived modestly, saddened by grave domestic trials, among them the loss of four daughters; but remaining through all serene and tranquil. When united Italy became a na-

tion, he was elected to the Senate, and attended at two memorable sessions: one, February 26, 1861, for the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy; the other, December 9, 1864, when he gave his vote for the law transferring the capital from Turin to Florence, and designating Rome as the future capital. At eighty years of age he was still engaged in literary work. The comparative essay, *The French Revolution of 1789 and the Italian Revolution of 1859* is of that time, and attests his acumen, his candor and his love of country. He died May 22, 1873, amid the universal lamentations of Italians.

With his juvenile writings Manzoni pleased Monti and Foscolo, but failed to please himself. Soon he saw before him, bright and clear, the line to follow in art; the way to arrive had already been pointed out in the poem on the death of Imbonati:

> To keep the hand pure, and the mind;
> So much to experience of human things
> As may be needful, but not value them;
> Ne'er to be servile, ne'er to make a truce
> With aught that's vile; ne'er to betray the truth,
> Nor ever speak a word that seems applause
> For vice or scorn for virtue.

In the letters in which, as already said, he formulated in 1823 the purposes of the new school, he assigned to poetry and to literature in general, "the useful for its purpose, the true for its subject, and the interesting for its means."

Faithful to this principle, with the inspiration of the faith reawakened in a pure and fervid heart, he wrote five sacred hymns: *La resurrezione, Il nome di Maria, Il natale, La passione,* and *La pentecoste,* full of lyric fire and finely elaborated—the last really wonderful; in these he sought "to bring back to religion those grand, noble and human sentiments that naturally spring from it."

Almost contemporaneously he was incited to civic and

patriotic poetry, and the *Cinque maggio* ("Fifth of May"), the ode that came from his pen as at one cast, on the announcement of the death of Napoleon I (1821), suddenly made him known throughout Europe; those strophes, not free from faults, but rapid, vibrant, impetuous, and at the same time packed with thought, were suddenly and are still upon the lips of all. This ode is related by the nature of the subject to another ode, unpublished till 1848, on the movements of the Piedmontese in March, 1821, and to the choruses of the tragedies.

Upon the tragedies *Il conte di Carmagnola* and the *Adelchi,* Manzoni worked from 1816 to 1822, after reading Shakespeare and studying the questions that for some time had been agitated concerning the drama. He left aside the famous unities, called Aristotelian, of time and place, and with them every other rule and norm that was not "founded in the reason of art and kindred to the nature of the dramatic poem." He wished to reproduce faithfully what we call the historical and local color. To this end he studied for the first of his tragedies the usages of war and the conditions and quality of the captains of soldiers of fortune in the fifteenth century, to which number *Carmagnola* belonged. For the second he studied the events of the last years of the domination of the Lombards, and the conditions of Italy under that domination. To the dialogue, the style and language he gave more simplicity and naturalness than had been held to be fitting for tragedy. He introduced the choruses as lyrical expressions of the sentiments excited in the poet by the action represented. And he aimed to educate and instruct, as the supreme purpose of dramatic action. All this he argued and justified in the prefaces to the two tragedies and in a letter in French to a Frenchman. The tragedies were accompanied by historic notes, and the second also by a learned discourse on some point of Lombard history in Italy.

Notwithstanding all this novelty, the *Carmagnola* and the *Adelchi* are not of great value, because the lyric element predominates and the action is slight. But they contain fine passages; and the chorus in the *Carmagnola* upon the battle of Maclodio, the two choruses in the *Adelchi*—the one upon the victory of Charlemagne and the other full of exquisite delicacy, upon the death of Ermengarda—are lyrics whose beauty is familiar to everyone.

But the work by which Manzoni takes a place among the greatest writers, not only of Italy but of Europe, is a historical romance, *I promessi sposi* ("The Betrothed"), written in 1821-'3. In the first edition (1827), the book was full of words and constructions purely literary, abounded in inappropriate or affected elegance, and had also some expressions either erroneous or of dialect. Dissatisfied with these, the author spent years of study on it and reduced it to the form in which we have it—that is, written in simple and natural Tuscan, according to the forms and constructions of the living Florentine speech. The revised version was issued in 1840-'2. But even in the first form the story had been received as an original and valuable work. Historical romance came from England, where Sir Walter Scott had given admired examples of it. But the Milanese writer, with his profound knowledge of the human heart, with his most felicitous aptitude for psychologic observation, careful, quiet, sure, has given us something better than an ingenious story or a lively picture of manners in the style of the Scottish romance. All "the moral world of a mind high, gentle and pure" is reflected in this book, so simple and yet so profound; the analysis of thought is most subtle, the lucidity of form is perfect. "Walter Scott," Chateaubriand wrote, "is great; Manzoni is something more."

The scene of Manzoni's novel is laid in Lombardy;

the time, 1628 to 1631. The general idea came to the author from Ripamonti's stories; he says it was particularly suggested by a certain proclamation against the "bravoes," cited by Melchiorre Gioia in his *Economia e statistica*. The plot turns on a most simple incident, the marriage of two peasants, Renzo and Lucia, which is opposed by a scoundrelly lordling, Don Rodrigo. In a setting historically and imaginatively correct, as Giordani says, "the highest truth and the most perfect finish in dialogue and in characters," is represented a society profoundly corrupt, in which an arbitrary government is associated with feudal anarchy and popular anarchy, and extravagant legislation is joined with "profound and brutal ignorance." This environment is admirably described; the imaginary characters seem to live and breathe; personages of whom history gives us but a faint outline—as Cardinal Federico Borromeo, l'Innominato, and the Nun of Monza—are presented with a full and perfect impress of their individuality. Among the imaginary characters, Don Abbondio, Perpetua, Frà Galdino, and the Azzeccagarbugli ("inciter of tumults") are among the most popular in our literature; Frà Cristoforo is an incomparable minister of a Providence that succors and inspires to Christian resignation. Sincere piety, never superstitious, gives evidence throughout the romance of the equable and serene spirit of the author.

If we consider how the powerful of the earth are presented there, and in contrast the humble, the simple and the poor, few books aside from the Gospel appear so perfectly democratic as this. "Oh, let it be praised!" said Giordani; "the impostors and the oppressors perceived afterward (but late) that a vigorous brain, a powerful arm is his who has taken so much care to appear simple and almost stupid; but stupid to whom? To the impostors and the oppressors." The good-humored simplicity to which Giordani alludes is only one

of the elements of Manzoni's subtle humor. In choosing a subject like this and using in it, instead of conventional and academic phrasing, the familiar speech of Tuscany, Manzoni conformed to the opinion that he and the other Italian romancers held, that literary works should take hold of subjects not alien to modern life, and such as may attract and at the same time pleasantly educate the greatest possible number of readers.

After giving to Italy this romance, the reasons for whose great fame we have been able to indicate only in part, Manzoni wrote a disquisition on historical romance, and in general on compositions of mingled history and invention, in which he condemned with subtle logic and unbiased intuition this hybrid class—which is in fact abandoned to-day by nearly all. In criticism and in historical erudition he gave evidence of his acumen and of his practical mind; and he left most judicious observations upon questions concerning the Italian language. The *Colonna infame* ("column of infamy"),written in 1840, is a learned disquisition, historico-judicial, concerning a famous trial of two persons condemned as *untori* during the pestilence of 1630. [*Untori* were persons supposed to scatter the germs of pestilence.] The *Morale cattolica* (1819), in which are admired "the strength of conviction, the subtlety of the argument, and the warmth of the style," is a confutation, as urbane as learned and sincere, of a judgment concerning this morale given by Sismondi in his *History of the Italian Republics.*

Among classicists and romanticists Leopardi forms "a party by himself." Though classic in form, he is romantic in matter—by his frank subjectivity, by his gentle melancholy, by the fervid invocations to the moon, by his often symbolic conceptions of nature. Thanks to him, Italy, which had at one time transmuted the farrago of exotic romantic legends into the classic form which

is all its own, now gave the plastic serenity of Greek and Latin form to modern pathos, the romantic sentiment of northern Europe.

Giacomo Leopardi was born at Recanati June 29, 1798. He was the son of Count Monaldo, a gentleman of reactionary principles but a lover of study, and of Adelaide, his wife, a woman coldly austere, who in 1803 assumed the administration of her husband's patrimony and succeeded by many years of economy in restoring it. Precocious and self-taught, gifted with marvelous mental power, Giacomo early gave evidence of his singular genius. His intellect dominated the psychic faculties; but his feelings too were exuberant and his heart open to every affection before the conviction of the infinite vanity of everything had done violence to his nature. In the gloomy silence of his father's library, in the solitude of the little chamber where his youth unfolded, the desire of loving assailed him often, acute and intense; an exquisite sensitiveness was united to the wonderful clearness of his intellect.

From his tenth to his twentieth year he devoted himself with quiet constancy to the study of classic philology. The praise of a few, principally Giordani, was enough to make him desire no end to his labor but in the sure haven of glory. And with glory more deceptive mirages allured him; in the claustral prison of his father's house, to which he was condemned by his parents, who were fearful of seeing him estranged from the love of God in the midst of the world, his heart expanded with vague aspirations, to nature, to country, to woman, to the infinite life,—the true life outside the "wild native place"—into the wide world. Of this period is the *Passero solitario* ("Solitary Sparrow"), a melancholy idyl full of affection for nature; and of the same period is the *canzone* to Italy:

O patria mia, vedo le mura e gli arche,

in which he ventures to re-compose the song of Simonides, the poet of Leonidas and the three hundred. This *canzone* is indeed somewhat artificial, and one feels the school in it; but "the school," said Luigi Settembini, "as opposed to the world; that opposition which was then our true life and the life of Italy." The poet was inspired not only by the past, but by the sad present, in this and the sister *canzone* on the monument of Dante. That which in one is confused vision, though living and terrible—

> "A tumult of soldiers and horses,
> And smoke and dust and flashing swords,
> Like lightning 'mid the clouds"—

becomes in the other a connected story and a picture of the miserable campaign in Russia; and the tale turns into an apostrophe to the Italian dead "along the gloomy Gallic shores."

But soon the idyllic and patriotic poet becomes the poet of sorrow; to faith and aspiration succeed doubt and dejection. Having ruined himself, as he writes, with seven years of furious, desperate study in the formative time when he should have been strengthening his constitution, Leopardi becomes aware that his health is irredeemably lost, and with terror and trembling he sees that his body is growing miserably deformed. It was apparently cerebro-spinal neurasthenia; and the terrible malady tore from his eyes the band of roseate illusions, and, looking about him in bewilderment, he saw nothing but a desert. His father was severe, incapable of understanding him; his mother was destitute of that maternal tenderness which would have eased the wounds of his heart; in his miserable little gossiping town were faces hostile or mocking; at twenty years the flower of youth faded in him, who hated old age like the Greek poet Mimnermus. And how many other ruins in his soul!

Of religion, first of all, the supreme consoler; then, to use his own words, "the imagination and the faculties of the heart, even these, were nearly spent with the vigor of the body." No more for his active intellect the assiduous studies; no more for his heart overflowing with affection the hope of being loved again. In this so great solitude Leopardi withdraws into himself; his soul speaks to him in a voice of lament, and the voice seems to him "the plaint of things." So his sorrow mirrors itself in universal sorrow, and he takes a place amid the host of singers in Europe of the *Weltschmerz* ("world-sorrow"); was supreme among them, as Schopenhauer judged, because he reflected more sincerely the color of his own soul in the expression of the heart-sorrow of the world.

Nevertheless, in this second period of his life, about 1820-29, the poet does not lose his energy; he is sustained by the inward dissidence—the fervid heart rebelling against the mind that seeks the naked truth. The unfortunate knows well that no woman will ever care to receive his love; but not the less for that does the pure flame enkindle, nor does he less indulge in the ecstatic contemplation of beauty. In a poem of the seventeenth century, *The Conquest of Granada,* by Graziani, he meets with two romantic names, Elvira and Consalvo, in an episode that strikes him—the first and last kiss of a girl to a dying cavalier. To die in the kiss breathed from the woman he adores is a supreme joy that even a youth deformed and ill, if he cannot hope for, can at least imagine for a moment, without hearing the scornful cry of reason within him! Leopardi has expressed it in his *Consalvo* with lines that cannot be read without a shiver of emotion. Similarly in the *Ultima canto di Saffo* (1822), one of the loftiest and most perfect of modern lyrics, one feels the convulsion of the soul fitted for love, yet tied to a body from which everything beautiful takes flight.

The contrast and the anguished realization of the contrast, present in all Leopardi's poetry, are especially manifest in the poems of this period. In the *canzone Alla sua donna* ("To His Lady"), of 1823, the poet, as if terrified by the tremendous truth pronounced in the *Last Song of Sappho,* takes refuge in the ideal, and pursues, as he says, "one of those phantoms of celestial and ineffable beauty and virtue that come to us often in sleep and in vigils when we are little more than children, and afterward at rare times in sleep or in an almost alienation of mind when we are youths." It is liberty, it is happiness, say the critics; but the poet himself says, "It is the woman that is not found"—not the "eternal feminine" of Goethe, but something more pure and incorporeal, the sister soul femininely gentle and sweet, which reflects into ours its own divine image through the mantle of matter, diaphanous to it—however it may appear to earthly eyes—as a cup of clearest crystal.

As we have seen, though so much was destroyed for Leopardi, his imagination remained ardent. To fancy, and in fancy to lose himself in limitless spaces, was the supreme luxury for him, as for Rousseau. In the *Infinito,* a very brief but beautiful lyric, a hedge shuts off from the poet the greater part of the horizon; but through the hindrance to the sight, the potent fancy so strongly works that "for a little the heart does not fear." And, indulging his imagination, Leopardi at this time fell in love with other ideals, as for the redemption of his country, no longer by fighting and martyrdom, which his reason showed him to be vain, but by the regeneration of her sons, earnest of more fruitful battles. Thus to the patriotic poet of the first two *canzone* succeeds the civic poet in the ode *A un vincitore nel pallone,* encouraging the new generation of Italy to that virtue, he aims to free the mind from the disastrous forgetfulness of country. In the *canzone* to his friend Angelo Mai, the poet tries

to sweep away the obscurity of tedium that encumbers his "dead century," by shaking the sleeping minds with memories of their hereditary glory. The epithalamium *Per le nozze della sorella Paolina* ("For the Marriage of my Sister Pauline"), by reason of this sad feeling of the miseries of Italy, has a tone of elegy. To re-temper the Italians for the trials to come, was, even amid his pessimism, the persistent hope of Leopardi.

The ardent love for nature had not slept in the poet's mind through those years of superstitious illusions; in the song *Alla Primavera* ("To the Spring") he repeats the ancient dream of a nature "living and animated, passionate and thoughtful," as pagan mythology represents it; in the *Inno ai Patriarchi* ("Hymn to the Patriarchs") he evokes again from the Bible the fancy of the primal happy age in which the race of men lived in ignorance of its afflictions and of its destiny. Some have denied the sincerity and actuality of the love for nature in Leopardi; but they are proved by the grand rural pictures in the *Vita solitaria,* the *Quiete dopo la tempesta,* and the *Sabato del villaggio.* His descriptions are, indeed, hasty and infrequent, and he gives attention rather to the generic than to the specific aspects of nature; but at times a few statuesque outlines may have greater effect than minute description.

About 1829 Leopardi began the third, most unhappy period of his life. "Dark lover of death," as De Musset called him, he now denies and despairs. He had in vain changed places, as a sick man changes sides—Rome, Milan, Bologna, Florence, Pisa having successively received him; everywhere he carried with him an executioner in his undone and suffering body. Therefore now he would and would not; he raised himself for a time from torpor only to sink back again, in the Hamlet-like mood where he meditated continually on the vanity of all things, and the relief of his favorite studies often failed

him by reason of the weakness of his eyes. Suffering marvel of misfortune nobly supported—in view of this, let us not be repelled by any weaknesses or inconsistencies in this great man; it is enough that he endured such sorrows without losing his reason. For now everything seems to him black and maleficent; the *ameni errori* are gone, and he lies uncaring, inactive, smiling bitterly at the undisguised truth. The beauty of woman no longer throws a gleam of divine light upon his path; she is too far inferior to the ideal in his enamored soul. What he says of woman in *Aspasia* corresponds to that upon the redemption of his country, for which he had so greatly hoped, in the *Paralipomeni della Batra-comiomachia* ("Further Chronicles of the Battle of the Frogs and Mice"), a heroi-satiric poem in octaves, in which as a continuation and completion of the pseudo-Homeric poem, which he had translated in sextets, he represents the Italians as the mice and their oppressors, the Austrians, as the frogs. In all this pessimistic poetry the sarcasm is a sob.

Thus, Leopardi's soul being frozen in the chill of that limitless tedium, and his rebellious heart at length overcome, his intellect, pursuing unlovely truth with cruel pertinacity, reigned supreme. And the later poems are wholly philosophic, with the exception of the *Ricordanze* ("Recollections"), where sentiment intrudes through the paths of memory into the domain of thought. In the *Canto di un pastore errante nell' Asia* ("Song of a Wandering Shepherd in Asia") is all his pessimistic theory of the uselessness of life; and in the *Ginestra* ("Broom, or golden furze"), the flower of the desert, lost on the arid ridge of Vesuvius the destroyer, gives occasion for funereal reflections summing up his theory of despair. Death, so many times invoked, sighed for and blessed, came to him June 14, 1837, at Naples, where he had

been living since October, 1833, with his friend Antonio Ranieri.

Leopardi left many writings in Latin and Italian, philologic and scholarly, especially on the Greek writers of the decadence, and good classic translations. He was a most original writer of prose. In his *Operette morali* ("Short Studies on Morals") and in the *Pensieri* ("Thoughts"), and in some *volgarizzamenti* ("translations"), the language is pure, the style simple and clean and the reasoning candid, here and there reminding of Lucian in its subtlety. Despairing pessimism pervades it; one would say the author enjoys, as Giordani wrote in 1825, "to be always uncovering and putting his hand upon the miseries of men and things, and speculating with cold shuddering on the unhappy and terrible secrets of the life of the universe." There are imaginary dialogues, allegories, fables, considerations upon the life of animals—the *Elogio degli Uccelli* ("Eulogy of the Birds") is most beautiful—philosophical in content, worthy to be read and carefully considered. But the author lives in his poems, into which he has written his soul. Some of his lyrics—*A Silvia, Amore e morte,* and others—once read are stamped indelibly upon the memory. In originality his poetry is great even in comparison with that of other nations; for neither Byron, nor Shelley, nor Lenau, nor any other poet of sorrow has excelled him; but it is of the greatest in Italy. After Petrarch, whom he held dear, and whose work he elucidated with judicious annotations, no other poet approaches him except Foscolo, and he only in the *Sepolcri.* A poet wholly subjective, resolutely averse to imitation from his youth, is such a wonder among us, servile in our art for centuries by reason of a misunderstood classicism, that this alone would be cause enough for giving glory to Leopardi. But there is more than this; his poetry, though woven of memories and dreams, has

wonderful concreteness; in his grand simplicity he is sculpturesque, and says things beautiful in themselves and for themselves alone, without extrinsic adornment.

Giacomo Leopardi, dead to faith and shut up in his sorrow, could not lend his ear to the sound of brandished arms that came up from the shadow where conspiracies were made—those conspiracies that seemed to him, anxious as he was to see Italy fighting upon the open field in the light of the sun, folly "more fit for laughter than for compassion."

But from 1830 to 1860 Italian literature aided materially the work of those courageous spirits who were preparing the way, in torture and exile, for the redemption of Italy. Gabriele Rossetti (1783-1854), of Vasto in the Abruzzi, was the popular poet of the Neapolitan revolution of 1820; he wrote songs inspired by fervid love of his country and of liberty, and died, blind and an exile, in England. Pietro Giannone (1792-1872), of Camposanto near Modena, but of a Neapolitan family—not to be confounded with the historian of the same name already mentioned—conspired and suffered for Italy. In a political poem, *l'Esule* ("The Exiled") written in 1829, he represented the secret society of the Carbonari, and poured out his hatred for the oppressors. And Poerio and Mameli died fighting heroically for their country, one at the defense of Venice in 1848, the other, only twenty-two years of age, in the defense of Rome in 1849. Alessandro Poerio, of a Neapolitan family of patriots, put into his verses the same ardent love for Italy that he showed while the surgeon was amputating his leg, twice wounded at Mestre, October 27, 1848, when, as we read in the orders of the day of General Pepe, he talked of the country calmly, serenely, "with the same affection that Plutarch's heroes would have used in speaking of Athens or Sparta." Goffredo Mameli, of Genoa, the strong and gentle bard of our

people, impetuous in song as in battle, named one of his celebrated poems from Mazzini's formula, *Dio e popolo;* and in the popular hymn,

Fratelli d'Italia, l'Italia s'è desta,

full of enthusiasm and of fire, he urged the soldiers of his country to victory. Beside this hymn should be placed another, not less famous:

Si scopron le tombe, si levano i morti.

This was called "Garibaldi's Hymn," from the use of the words and music by the soldiers of the hero of Caprera in the battles for the independence and unity of Italy. Its author was Luigi Mercantini (1821-1872), of Ripatransone in the Marches, who sang in easy popular form of the events and the men most conspicuous in the national Risorgimento from 1848 to 1870.

Giovanni Prati (1815-1884) was born at Dasindo, a mountain village of the Trentino, on the banks of the Sarca. He became famous before he was twenty-eight, by the great popularity of his *Edmenegarda,* a novel in blank verse on a romantic theme, contemporaneous, of mingled sentimentality and realism, of the ideal and the commonplace, pleasing by the rapid and vigorous delineation of passions and of characters frankly human. Prati's juvenile patriotic songs, burning with hatred for the foreigner, were widely circulated and fired the souls of patriotic Italians. But this poet appears again among the masters of lyric poetry during the early years of the restored unity of Italy. Here are to be mentioned two others from the valley of the Trent: Antonio Gazzoletti (1813-1866), author of lyrics and of a Christian tragedy, "St. Paul," who was an ardent patriot in art and in life; and Andrea Maffei (1798-1885), from Riva di Trento, less noted for his original poetry than for his elegant and in general quite free versions of Schiller's

dramas, Milton's *Paradise Lost,* Goethe's masterpieces, and many foreign gems, mostly from German and from English. Maffei is perhaps the most famous of the translators of this period, of whom there were many of ability.

Among these translators the following may be named with Maffei: Tommaso Gargallo, of Syracuse, translator of Horace and Juvenal; Francesco Cassi, of Pesaro, reviser rather than translator of Lucan; Luigi Biondi, a Roman, who made an elegant version of Tibullus; Giuseppe De Spuches, of Palermo, who translated Euripides —the author also of lyrics and two romantic poems, *Gualtiero* and *Adele di Borgogna,* whose wife, Giuseppina Turrisi Colonna, a writer of poetry, a classical scholar, and an admirer of Byron, died in 1848 at the age of twenty-six; Felice Bellotti, of Milan, who gave an Italian dress to the three great tragedians of Greece and to Camoens; Giuseppe Borghi, of Bibbiena, author of most admirable *Inni sacri* ("Sacred Hymns") in imitation of Manzoni, who rendered into our idiom with too great freedom the odes of Pindar; the Brescians Giovita Scalvini and Giuseppe Nicolini,—the last-named also a lyric poet and author of the instructive *Cultivazione dei cedri,* who translated, the one from Goethe, the other from Byron and Shakespeare; and, finally, Luigi Goracci, of Foiano di Valdichiana, who may be said to have surpassed all previous translators of Ovid with his version of the *Metamorphoses* in octaves like those of Ariosto.

The theories of romanticism, of which Manzoni was now universally recognized as the prophet and standard-bearer, were put into effect in lyrics by Torti, Biava, Carrèr, Grossi, Sestini, and Carcano. Torti (1774-1852), of Milan, disciple of Parini and author of a poetic epistle on the *Sepolcri* of Foscolo and of Pindelmonte, having been converted to romanticism, was a friend of Manzoni's, who in *I Promessi Sposi* called his verses "few but

excellent," and wrote according to the new standards of art a novel in octaves *La Torre di Capua* (1829), a poem, on scepticism and religion, and some other things which, in truth, do not rise above mediocrity. To Samuele Biava (1792-1870), of Bergamo, we owe *melodie liriche,* mystic and sentimental, imperfect in form, but ardent in sentiment. The Venetian Luigi Carrèr (1801-1850) at first cultivated extemporaneous poetry, attracted by the example of the celebrated improvisator Tommaso Sgricci, but later wrote reflective poetry like Foscolo's in the *Inno alla terra* ("Hymn to the Earth") and sonnets, and in the manner of the romanticists in romances or ballads. Besides his various lyrics, short poems and tragedies, in which is revealed a richness of poetic fancy, much study and a sense of proportion like Manzoni's, he left criticisms and works of literary erudition.

Tommaso Grossi (1791-1853), of Bellano, an intimate friend of Manzoni's, lives to-day as a poet almost exclusively by his romantic novels in octaves—simple, impassioned and affecting—*La fuggitiva, l'Ildegonda,* and *Ulrico e Lida,* which, together with *La Pia de' Tolomei* (1822), by the Tuscan Bartolomeo Sestini, are the best novels of the kind, moving the reader to tears and sighs, especially *l'Ildegonda* (1820), which carrying us into full mediæval times, was in most perfect harmony with the romantic spirit of the age. Finally, Giulio Carcano (1812-1884), of Milan, imitated Grossi in a novel on a pathetic subject, *Ida della Torre* ("Ida of the Tower"), and translated Shakespeare into verse.

Among writers in dialect was Grossi, who wrote a satire, the *Prineide,* in Milanese, and a poem on the death of Porta. Carlo Porta (1776-1821) used his Milanese dialect in patriotic satires, and employed his caustic wit, under an appearance of ingenuousness, to represent the miseries of an enslaved people. He had singular qualities of genius and of soul, such as were shown neither

by Giovanni Meli (1740-1815) of Palermo, who wrote lyrics fine and melodious, but Arcadian in content, in the Sicilian dialect, modified to literary form, nor by Pietro Buratti (1772-1832), of Venice, who used the vernacular of the lagoons masterfully to deride the customs of his city for the sake of deriding, rather than to correct them by the derision. Contemporaneously with Porta flourished two other famous dialect poets—Giuseppe Gioacchino Belli (1791-1863), productive author of *Sonetti romaneschi,* in which the life of Rome from 1828 to 1849 is faithfully and comically represented, in the piazza and in the sacristy, in the tavern and in the palace; and Angelo Brofferio (1802-1866), celebrated for his popular *canzoni* in the Piedmontese dialect no less than for numerous dramas in the literary language, for his histories of Piedmont and of the Subalpine Parliament, for his work as a journalist, and as a deputy. But Porta is the most vigorously realistic among our dialect writers of every age; though the author of *Ildegonda* approaches him in certain respects.

To Grossi we owe, further, a poem in octaves, *I Lombardi alla prima crociata* ("The Lombards in the First Crusade"), which is not lacking in some affecting scenes and some fine description, but disappoints the great expectations it raises, and seems poor in inspiration, and careless in style and versification. He tried unsuccessfully to emulate Tasso in the use of romanticism in epic form; this class of poem, indeed, had now exhausted its vital force; for only mediocre are those that were written late in the eighteenth century and early in the nineteenth; among them are Teresa Bandettini's *La Teseide,* Pietro Bagnoli's *Orlando savio* and *Cadmo,* Lorenzo Costa's *Colombo,* and Angelo Maria Ricci's *Italiade* and *San Benedetto.*

An allegorical poem in the manner of Dante, the *Scala di Vita* ("Ladder of Life"), disappointed in his hope of

glory Luigi Grisostomo Ferrucci, a kinsman of the more celebrated Caterina Franceschi Ferrucci, scholar, writer and poet. The romance rather than the poem was the medium preferred for narrations partly historical and partly imaginary. After the splendid example by Manzoni, historical romances were written by Giovanni Rosini of Lusignano (1776-1855), Professor at the University of Pisa, who, always with a great show of erudition, developed in the *Monaca di Monza* the famous episode of the *Promessi Sposi* and wrote *Luisa Strozzi* and *Ugolino della Gherardesca;* also by Grossi, who in the *Marco Visconti* suggested gracefully his friend's masterpiece, and was not far behind as to subtlety of psychologic analysis and wise simplicity of style; by Carcano, who in *Angiola Maria* and *Damiano* followed the footsteps of Manzoni, leaving out, however, the historic element almost entirely and giving special development to the affecting or sentimental parts; and by D'Azeglio and Cantù.

Massimo d'Azeglio (1798-1866), son-in-law and, as he may well be called, disciple of Manzoni, was a gentleman of Turin, who devoted his life to art and to politics, as painter, writer, patriot and statesman. In the *Ettore Fieramosca* (1833), a historical romance inspired by a picture that he painted of the tournament of Barletta, he aimed to keep awake the sentiment of national honor; in it are pages of eloquence and appropriate imagery that make us willing to overlook the defects that are not wanting in the plot and the drawing of characters. In the *Niccolò de' Lapi* (1841), D'Azeglio glorifies the love of country and of liberty, grouping around an imaginary type of noble villager, a follower of Savonarola, the events of the memorable siege of Florence in 1530. By these romances and some political pamphlets—*Gli ultimi casi di Romagna, I lutti di Lombardia*—he contributed not a little to encourage those spirits that led the Italians to national redemption. He contributed still more after-

ward, with his arm and his wisdom, as soldier, deputy, ambassador, minister, and president of the Consiglio.

Cesare Cantù (1805-1895), of Brivio, a voluminous writer in many classes of literature, was the author of vigorous works, such as the *Universal History,* which, necessarily written in haste, does not correspond in accuracy of detail to the vastness of design. He is noted as a romancer by his *Margherita Pusterla* (1838), in which, nevertheless, are many defects of conception and execution. From the moment when the Italian Revolution assumed by the force of events a tendency adverse to the Papacy, Cantù was no longer in its favor; yet he was far from adopting the reactionary principles and anti-national sentiments that the Jesuit Antonio Bresciani d'Ala (died in 1862) proclaimed with violence in his romances, set in a historical frame in a style florid, archaic and affected.

The opposite of Bresciani was Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi (1804-1873), of Leghorn, a romancer, but wholly independent of the school of Manzoni, a man of bold spirit, indomitable character, and exuberant and intemperate fancy. His literary works in highly colored style, fantastic, often inflated, reflect his mind and are at the same time calls to war. Thus the *Battaglia di Benevento* (1827), in which is represented dramatically the fall of the Swabian dynasty oppressed by Guelphism, has passages of powerful effect, although it is wearying by the continuous parade of vigor and originality. In the *Assedio di Firenze* (1836), the last battle for Florentine liberty against the arms of the Papacy and the Empire joined for its overthrow, an event that inspired D'Azeglio, is drawn by a mind raging with patriotism, whose violent leaps and plunges are mirrored in the style. He was imprisoned in 1848, then elected successively deputy, minister with Montanelli and with Mazzini, and lastly dictator, but in 1849 he

fled with difficulty from the fury of the populace and was taken, tried and condemned to imprisonment, a sentence commuted to exile in Corsica. In exile and afterward he wrote other romances even more fiery and stirring—*Beatrice Cenci, Pasquale Paoli,* and others. In 1857 he escaped and went to Genoa; after 1859 he held for several years a seat in the national Parliament, where he opposed fiercely what he called the "impious faction" of the moderates. At last, weary of public life, he withdrew and lived in retirement at his villa near Cecina.

Not all the writings of Guerrazzi have the same Byronic style. *La Serpicina* ("The Little Serpent"), in which he affects to prove the inferiority of man in comparison with the beasts, is a graceful little thing; in the *Buco nel Muro* ("Hole in the Wall") he writes of himself and of domestic events in an agreeable manner. He has been well described as a singular contrast of good and of censurable both as a man and a writer, but always original; and in irony, sarcasm, invectives—in his rages, when he could hold himself under some restraint—he was more vigorous than any writer among his contemporaries.

Another Tuscan of about the same time resembled him in his "patriotic and civic aims, but was quite different in the temper of his mind, which was serene and equable—Giambattista Niccolini (1782-1861), of San Giuliano near Pisa, was an able writer of historic drama, in which he followed the method of the romanticists. In *Nabucco* ("Nebuchadnezzar") he developed a transparent political allegory. In *Antonio Foscarini* he drew a picture, vivid but not true to historic fact, of the conditions in Venice in the seventeenth century, with the purpose of calling attention to similar conditions existing in his own time in Italy. During the first period of his literary activity he had been a classical dramatist; in the second he joined with the imitation of Greek tragedy that of

Shakespeare, Schiller and Byron. Among his dramas the *Arnaldo da Brescia* (1843) takes the first place for originality and importance; in this the hero, the Brescian friar, embodies the popular conscience declaring its rights in the face of the Papacy and the Empire. It may be called a dramatic *epos* rather than a tragedy, many of its passages are eloquent with the sincere ardor of the sentiments that are the life of it.

Satire as well was used at this time to expose and denounce the misfortunes of Italy, subject to the foreigner, overtaxed and oppressed. What Porta did in Milanese, Giuseppe Giusti, born in 1809 at Monsummano in the Val di Nievole, did in the literary language, and therefore with the capacity for wider and more effective moral influence.

Before him Filippo Pananti (1766-1837), of Mugello, imitating and often directly translating foreign models, wrote in sestine *Il poeta di teatro* ("The Dramatic Poet") and numerous epigrams without any serious purpose. Antonio Guadagnoli (1798-1858), of Arezzo, wrote some pleasantly facetious and frivolous things after the manner of the seventeenth and eighteenth century writers. And Arnaldo Fusinato (1817-1888), of Schio, contented himself in his humorous poetry with laughing and exciting laughter; but he wrote some patriotic songs and romantic poems not wanting in sentiment—*Suor Estella* ("Sister Estelle"), *Le due madri* ("The Two Mothers"), and others, which became very popular.

But Giusti, on the contrary, made use of humorous poetry as a weapon against the oppressors of his country. Having studied law against his inclinations, at Pisa, where he did more to wear out the benches of the noted café of Ussero than those of the Sapienza, he took his degree, and then devoted himself to poetry rather than to the practice of law, for the most part at Florence and at Pescia. In 1843 he entered into corre-

spondence with Manzoni, and in 1845 visited him at Milan, where he knew also Grossi, Torti and others. After being a member of the legislative assembly of Tuscany in the time of the Constitutional Government of the province (1848-9), he died at Florence in the house of Gino Capponi, where he was a guest, March 31, 1850.

Giusti's poetical satires, splendidly original in irony as well as invective, are written in a Tuscan nearer to the common speech than to the literary language; hence they have unusual vigor of style, from the perfect correspondence, the exact shading of the word to the thought; and an unusual musical effect is attained by the care given to the meters, now solemn and grave, now swift and flexible. They had, therefore, in the author's time, extraordinary circulation and popularity, and editions were rapidly multiplied. Doubtless this was in part due to their civic and political content, since much in them was connected with the special conditions of Giusti's times. But, fortunately for us, not a little is applicable to human nature in any age or country; for example, what he says of popular education and the rights of human reason, and his denunciations of demagogues, impostors, and robbers of the public revenues. Therefore Giusti's poems are still read with pleasure; and some, as *Il brindisi di Girella* ("The Toast to Girella"), *Il re travicello* ("King Rafter"—expression for a nonentity, like "King Log"), *La terra dei Morti* ("The Land of the Dead"), *Sant' Ambrogio,* and others, seem even to us humorously acute or fiercely sarcastic. He has the art of broadening his subject as he goes on; he can mirror with perfect concreteness, without tricks or artifices, the objective reality; he discerns intimate relations among things that escape the superficial observer; he hides cunningly the work of the file, so that one would never perceive that his apparent facility and his polish are the result of labor. The proper names of some of his char-

acters have become common names in a way; as Girella, Bècero and that Gingillino to whom the author with much of Parini's "instructive irony," teaches how to get an office from the government, and many phrases and sentences that are now common property made their first appearance in Giusti's satirical poems. He wrote also serious lyrics, deservedly praised for delicacy and melancholy sweetness, like the famous sonnet, *La fiducia in Dio* ("Confidence in God"). As to his *Epistolario,* once much admired, it is observed by Ferdinando Martini—to whom we owe *Memorie* of Giusti, brief and incomplete, but not without value—that "instead of the academic in the toga, they have the academic in the vernacola; but academic it is; the art does not succeed in hiding the artifice, and the excessive polish does not give point to the style, but blunts it."

In the years of our national Risorgimento, political writings engaged the attention and the activity of many men of fine ability; and history and philosophy were to be potent instruments in the struggle. Carlo Troya (1784-1858), a Neapolitan of neo-Guelph ideas, but a patriot, returning to the methods of Muratori, wrote a History of Italy in the Middle Ages, strong and rich in erudition. Mazzini and Cattaneo had opposing political ideas. The full discussion of the work of Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872), of Genoa, the great agitator and patriot, belongs mainly to political history; but literary history cannot pass him by, since he was an acute and appreciative critic in matters pertaining to poetry, fine arts and music, was modern in his ideas, and master of a style lively and all his own, a romanticist, but writing with classic correctness.

Carlo Cattaneo (1801-1869), of Milan, was another of the men of thought and action by whom our Risorgimento is honored. But among them the most prolific and active, after Mazzini, was Vincenzo Gioberti (1801-1852),

of Turin, a philosopher of great fame and an eloquent political writer. In his *Primato morale e civile degli Italiani* (1843) he exalted Italy and Catholicism together, proposing a confederation of the various States under the presidency of the Pontiff, and exciting great and general enthusiasm. This idea he developed later more fully in the *Prolegomeni al Primato* and in the *Gesuita moderno,* designed to strike the Jesuits. He returned to Turin after many years of exile, was received with public rejoicing, and was elected Minister and afterward President of the Council. But after the reverse of Novara he changed his ideas; and in the *Rinnovamento civile d'Italia* (1851), casting aside the proposition of the Primate, he maintained, with acumen and prevision, that Piedmont ought to undertake the political redemption of Italy; that all sections ought to second it; and that the Pope ought to have the "sovereignty of neither state nor territory."

Of Gioberti as a philosopher it is not in our province to speak. Yet we shall make mention of Pasquale Galluppi (1770-1846), of Tropea, and Antonio Rosmini (1797-1855), of Roveredo, who rose to merited renown in speculative studies; of Giandomenico Romagnosi (1761-1835), of Salsomaggiore, and of Melchiorre Gioia (1767-1829), of Piacenza, who continued worthily the traditions of the jurisconsults and economists of the eighteenth century; of Giuseppe Ferrari (1811-1876), of Milan, a disciple of Romagnosi, who approached the method and sometimes the ideas of Vico in his writings on the philosophy of history, particularly in the *Teoria dei periodi politici,* intended to show the inevitable periodic repetition of determined historic movements; of Raffaello Lambruschini (1788-1873), of Genoa, most expert in agronomics and in economic and pedagogic science.

But Terenzio Mamiani della Rovere (1799-1885), of Pesaro, an illustrious philosopher and statesman, who,

after political struggles and exile, rose to the highest honors of public life, was in addition an orator and a writer of literary prose and of tales, fables and narratives. To him we owe idyls that depart from the commonplaces of the bucolic, singing the great and simple beauties of nature, and sacred hymns on the lives of saints, in beautiful blank verse.

Another poet, singular by novelty of conception and form, by fine art and ardent sentiment, was Niccolò Tommaseo (1802-1874), of Sebenico in Dalmatia, a writer of varied literature and an admirable controversialist, a successful seeker after popular songs, legends and folklore, a romancer, a critic harsh and savage but acute, and an able lexicologist. A rich philosophy and a treasury of subtle observations are enclosed in his multiform and varied writings. He is constant in his desire for the moral and civil improvement of the Italians. Still, there is not lacking intemperance in judgments, sometimes extending to malignity, as in his criticisms of Leopardi, and opinions savoring of paradox.

Among the other prose writers of the time of our political resurrection, the following are the most prominent: D'Azeglio, with *I miei ricordi* ("My Recollections"), written in light and attractive form with intent to educate; Maurizio Bufalini (1787-1875), of Cesena, physician and writer, by his *Ricordi,* sincere and effective; Giovanni Dupré (1817-1882), of Siena, a celebrated sculptor, who wrote *Pensieri sull' arte e ricordi autobiografici,* useful and well written; and Ippolito Nievo (1831-1861), of Padua, a poet and brave Garibaldian, lost at thirty in a shipwreck, author of the *Confessioni di un ottuagenario,* covering a long period of the life of Italy with historic truth and artistic style.

Others not to be omitted are: "the last of the purists," Ferdinando Ranalli (1813-94), of the Abruzzo, noted especially for his *Ammaestramenti di letteratura,* written in

the purest style of the *cinquecento;* and the Marquis Gino Capponi, of Florence (1792-1876), a litterateur and a generous and judicious Mæcenas to men of letters, who wrote in irreproachable style upon various subjects—historical, political, pedagogic, philologic—and left not only a most important and copious epistolario, but a well considered and well written history of the Republic of Florence. Gian Pietro Vieusseux, who was born at Oneglia, the son of a Genevan, founded reading-rooms in Florence, a journal, the *Antologia,* and later the Archivio of Italian History, still existing. Thanks to him and to Capponi, Tuscany became at the middle of the century a tranquil and industrious center of literary studies and historic research, leading to the general revival of these studies at the present day. Atto Vannucci (1810-1883) was born and lived in Tuscany, a man of noble mind and austere habits, and a writer simple, sincere, vigorous, to whom we owe a history of ancient Italy and other useful books.

The study of history flourished throughout Italy at this time. It is sufficient to record the following: the history of Sardinia, by Giuseppe Manno d'Alghero, author also of some little literary works of value as the *Della fortuna delle parole;* the histories of the Monarchy of Savoy, by Luigi Cibrario, of Turin, and Ercole Ricotti, of Voghera, both noted for other works of the same class; the political and economic writings, stimulating to thought and finely elaborated in form, of the Milanese Cesare Correnti, who, after conspiring and combating, sat in the Subalpine Parliament and was a minister of the new kingdom and a high dignitary of state; the *History of Italy Told to the Italian People* and the *History of Italy from 1815 to 1850,* by Giuseppe La Farina, of Messina, a Mazzinian and afterward a follower and valuable coöperator of Cavour; the *History of Histories* by the Brescian, Gabriele Rosa, a democrat strictly loyal to his

principles. Much more widely circulated to-day than any of these is the concise and synthetic *Sommario della storia d'Italia,* by Count Cesare Balbo (1789-1853), of Turin, deputy and in 1848 president of the first constitutional ministry of Piedmont, to whom we owe a life of Dante and numerous political writings, among which *Le speranze d'Italia* ("The Hopes of Italy") published in 1844, was designed to prove Gioberti's theory—the necessity of national independence and the value of the idea of a Neoguelphic federation. But many things in that *Sommario* can not stand in the light of critical study and research; and the same may be said in general of the histories mentioned above.

On the contrary, the two great works of Michele Amari (1806-1889), of Palermo, retain perfectly their reputation for accuracy, with their capital importance. This illustrious patriot, in exile at Paris from 1842 to 1848, and again, after he had been minister of the Revolutionary Government of Sicily, from 1849 to 1859, returned as minister of his native island with Garibaldi dictator, then ruled the destinies of public instruction in the Kingdom of Italy, and for many years taught the Arabic language and literature in the *Istituto di Studii Superiori* in Florence. His history of the Sicilian Vespers, and, still better, the history of the Mussulmans in Sicily, on which he spent thirty years, are works of both science and art; the last-named was likened by D'Ancona to "a beautiful edifice having the solidity of the antique and the modern finish of detail." By these words Amari aided in establishing among us the scientific method in historic study, illuminating them with much variety and ingenuity of philosophic theory.

CHAPTER XI

THE LITERATURE OF NEW ITALY

ITALY, once more a united nation after so many misfortunes and so great glory, seems for a time less active and productive in literary work.

The best results of the artistic efforts of the Italians, from 1860 to 1870, are perhaps in criticism. Into this field Carducci and D'Ancona have entered; and in it, justly praised and admired, reigns supreme the inaugurator of psychologic and æsthetic criticism, Francesco De Sanctis (1818-1883), of Morra Irpina, Professor at Zurich during his exile, then in the University at Naples, and for some time Minister of Instruction in the Kingdom of Italy. He was a disciple of the purist, Basilio Puoti, but did not cling with the tenacity of the oyster to the ideas learned at school; he thought and wrote freely and with genius. His most important critical works are two volumes of essays, a study of Petrarch and another of Leopardi, and a *Storia della letteratura italiana.* Inclined by nature to the speculative side of criticism, he devoted his attention in his writings, particularly to a dissection of the various works of art, with intent to gather from them the animating thought. In this he succeeded incomparably, giving proof of an intellect at the same time robust and subtle. The debt of recognition of present-day Italian criticism to him is not small for the mortal blow he dealt the old rhetoric, all formula and precept.

But there is a lack of background to the figures in his literary pictures; for, as he cares only for great writers and great works, because upon those only is it possible to exercise æsthetic analysis, everything that in art

is not the creation of a single writer, but the work of the people, the impersonal creation of the national spirit, escapes him. Hence in his history of Italian Literature the imperfect idea of the general character of each age and of the inner history of the development of poetic forms; hence, for us, the necessity of uniting the intuitions of his method, at times divinations, with those canons of scientific treatment which the most cultured nations of Europe have observed for many years without a shadow of wavering in classic and in romantic philology.

Other critics and writers of various kinds of literature flourished between 1860 and 1880: Eugenio Camerini (1811-1875), of Ancona, whose *Profili* and *Nuovi profili letterarii,* rich in wise and original observations, are still deservedly held in high esteem; Carlo Tenca (1816-1883), of Milan, author of praiseworthy political and literary writings; Giuseppe Guerzoni (1835-1886), of Mantua, a a politician and soldier who occupied the chair at Padua formerly held by Zanella, where he was engaged in the civic education of Italian youth, and wrote fine biographies of Garibaldi and of Bixio; Vittorio Imbriani (1840-1886), of Naples, a critic witty, bold, combative, erudite, and of singular temper; and, above all, Luigi Settembrini (1813-1877), a Neapolitan also, who, after an imprisonment of many years at Santo Stefano, nobly endured, was chosen professor in the University of Naples and devoted himself with ardor to the work of teaching. Between 1866 and 1872 he published three volumes of lessons in Italian Literature, pleasing and systematic, but superficial; besides a translation of Lucian, he left beautiful and important recollections of his life. Settembrini's *Lezione,* like the history of Italian Literature by Paolo Emiliani Giudici, a Sicilian, have had their day. The work of De Sanctis remains, and doubtless will remain. Prati is at this time hailed by the majority as

prince of the lyric poets of Italy. And in truth his verses, especially the sonnets and the *Canto d'Igea,* have a singular refulgence; he is full of ardor and of musical harmony; his lines flow from his pen spontaneously, full of color, sonorous. But too often the style is unequal, too often the splendor of the form conceals the deficiency of thought, and the verse speaks to the ear and not to the mind; hence the fame given to him by his own generation may not be confirmed by those to come.

Aleardo Aleardi (1812-1878), of Verona, a conspirator, a prisoner at Josephstadt in 1859, then Professor of Æsthetics at Florence, and lastly Senator of the Kingdom—he, too, as a poet had the applause of his countrymen in this age, and certainly he was not wanting in activity of mind and in sentiment; but it not infrequently becomes sentimentalism, academic and empty. His finest things, as to both matter and form, are the *Monte Circello* and the *Prime Storie* ("Primal Histories").

Finally, the primacy is claimed from Prati and Aleardi by Giacomo Zanella (1820-1888), of Chiampo in the Vicentino, Professor for many years in the University of Padua, who was truly one of the noblest poets of New Italy. Classic though modern singer of the harmonies of the outer world with the moral world, from his chair at Padua he educated the first generations of liberated Venice to a love of the beautiful and true; the faith of the Christian did not prevent admiration for the conquests of thought, nor was the zeal of the priest an obstacle to the citizen's love of country. Among his lyrics the most perfect and most profound is the ode to a fossil sea-shell, which is most exquisitely elaborated. Very beautiful are also the *Veglia* ("Vigil"), *Il taglio dell' istmo di Suez* ("The Cutting of the Suez Isthmus"), *Egoismo e carità, Milton e Galileo,* and the collection of poems entitled *Astichello.*

Many other poets had their readers and admirers at this

period. Giuseppe Revere (1812-1889), of Trieste, author of historic dramas not adapted to the stage, and of prose lively and occasionally humorous,—*Bozzetti alpini* ("Alpine Sketches") and *Marine e paesi.* In the fine and elegant subtlety of many of his poems he resembles Heine, whom, together with Foscolo and Lucian, he greatly admired. To the Milanese Emilio Praga (1839-1875), one of the brightest minds of what was called the third generation of romanticists, but by reason of his dissolute life dead in the flower of his years, we owe some collections of poesy, where, in the midst of French imitations and faults of style, are passages original in thought and form. Francesco Dall' Ongaro (1810-1873), of Oderzo, a priest, then a Garibaldian and an exile, and lastly a professor, rose to fame especially by a drama *Il fornaretto,* by his *Stornelli* on political subjects and in popular tone, which were a happy novelty, and by many beautiful poems.

The extempore poet Giuseppe Regaldi (1809-1883), of Novara, after running through Italy and other regions of Europe, amid the applause of literati and the smiles of the beautiful, after gathering in the Orient material for inspiration and study, became public Instructor of History in the new Kingdom of Italy, and devoted himself to polishing his verses and writing more, among them the fine ode on the pass in the Cottian Alps and a poem in polimeter on Water. Regaldi's poetry resounds with sincere accents of love of country, devotion to the dynasty of Savoy, and faith in the destiny designed by God for the human race. If it were not for his use of hackneyed expedients, his art would seem not inadequate for the moral, civil and scientific subjects congenial to him.

The three poets mentioned above—Prati, Aleardi, and Zanella—were still in their glory when Carducci's first volume appeared in 1857. Giosué Carducci, born in 1836 at Valdicastello near Pietrasanta, and from 1860 Professor of Italian Literature at the University of Bologna,

revealed the originality of his genius most clearly in the *Odi barbare,* and led the way that writers of the new generation should follow in order to free themselves from empty romanticism as well as from the affectation of spontaneity by mere random versification. He has revived the old tradition of our literature for artistically elaborate form, and has made it not only a revival but a renewal, because he has infused the spirit of the modern age into every one of his creations. Thus the sane art of the Greeks, of the Latins, of Dante, of Ariosto, has cured us of the languor or fancied "pathos"; classicism has risen to new life in Italy. For the sentiment, the conception of nature peculiar to the ancients lives again in Carducci's art, not merely the extrinsic and the formal of classic art, as with Monti and his school. Carducci resembles Foscolo, but surpasses him in originality and fecundity. In the *Juvenilia* (1850-60), in the *Levia gravia* (1861-1871), various in subjects and versification, he prepares his weapons and drills himself; in his hymn to Satan he descends into the lists, agile and courageous; finally, in the three collections of *Odi barbare* (1877, 1882, 1889), in the *Giambi ed epodi* ("Iambics and Epodes") (1867-1879) and in the *Rime nuove* (1861-1887) he returns to the field with arms more staunch and more brilliant. A consensus of praise saluted the appearance of Carducci's first odes in Italy, and they are perhaps the most perfect and sincere of his creations. In them the correspondence of form and thought is complete; the meters of Horace, recalled to life without violence to the Italianity of the rhythm, were well adapted to receive new pictures of figures and landscapes of Hellas and of Rome. The second and third volumes of odes have vigor and elevation of thought; among them are some on modern subjects, including those on the death of Eugene Napoleon, and on the grave of Shelley; but they do not equal the best of the preceding volume. In the latest

odes, published on various occasions since 1890, recently collected, are some of the finest examples; indeed, in the matter of technique they surpass the others.

Naturally such a poet founds a school. Among his followers were Gabriele D'Annunzio, born in 1864, of Pescara, who adopted the "barbaric" meters, with movements all his own, in *Canto novo;* and Guido Mazzoni, born in 1859, a Florentine, in his first poems, where he shows unusual skill in the treatment of the Alcaic ode. These and Giuseppe Chiarini, of Arezzo, born in 1833, author of poems of merit, in which the chord of sorrow often vibrates, experimented with the new Carduccian meters in translations from Greek and Latin. But Carducci's influence did not rest like a yoke on those of real genius and vigor. Mazzoni found his peculiar note in domestic poetry, *Voci della Vita* ("Voices of Life"). D'Annunzio found his in ardent representations of the enjoyments of sense, *Intermezzo di rime;* to these, less extreme, were united afterward impressions of the outer world treated with an exquisiteness usually excessive; also less adventurous in respect of technique, *Isottèo, La Chimera, Poema paradisiaco, Odi navali,* and others. Severino Ferrari, born in 1856, of Alberino near Bologna, and Giovanni Marradi, born in 1852, of Leghorn, returning to the older measures of the country, expressed sentiment or depicted natural scenery with lively fantasy.

Meantime others cultivated with success the lyric, the only form saved from the wreck of national poetry, and in a manner quite independent of the Carduccian. Arturo Graf, born in 1848 at Athens, but Italian by education and sentiment, revived the poetry of sorrow with psychologic variations and in some passages with tragic grandeur, in his *Medusa, Dopo il tramonto, Le Danaidi,* and *Morgana.* Olindo Guerrini, born in 1845, of San Alberto di Ravenna, drew his inspiration from French lyrics, especially Baudelaire's. His *Postuma,* published in 1877 as

the work of one Lorenzo Stecchetti, deceased, was largely circulated by reason of the fluency of the verse, as well as the freedom of erotic language; and he explained and defended the theory of the so-called realism in another publication, *Nova polemica.* Mario Rapisardi, of Catania, born in 1844, an enemy of Carducci, with whom he held a bitter controversy, cultivated the lyric; though his name is specially connected with some longer poems.

We should speak of many others, if space were not lacking, who rise above the common herd of adorers of the Muses that have swarmed throughout the peninsula in the past three decades. As examples of this better class may be named the lamented Enrico Panzacchi; also Giovanni Alfredo Cesàreo, Domenico Gnoli, Giuseppe Aurelio Costanzo, Father Giuseppe Manni, Ada Negri, Vittoria Aganoor, Giovanni Bertacchi, Vittorio Betteloni, and Francesco Pastonchi.

We must content ourselves with noting that the attention of Italians is now fixed with particular confidence upon three poets: D'Annunzio, Marradi, and Giovanni Pascoli, the last-named born in 1855 at San Mauro di Romagna, noted also as an exquisite Latinist and as a critic. In the *Myricæ,* in the *Poemetti,* in the *Canti di Castelvecchio,* he has expressed with admirable fidelity certain unnoted voices of nature and of sentiment, using subtle æsthetic discrimination, and succeeding in being, if not perhaps always very lucid, always original and suggestive.

Neither can more than passing mention be made of some really notable translators from ancient and modern poets: Augusto Franchetti, translator of Aristophanes; Giuseppe Fraccaroli, of Pindar; Onorato Occioni, of Silius Italicus; Italo Pizzi, of the Persian poet Firdusi; Bernardino Zendrini, Casimiro Varese, and Chiarini, of Heine; and Emilio Teza, an illustrious linguist, expert in

the secrets of art, translator of poets of many ages and countries.

Among the contemporary prose-writers is Carducci again, one of the very first by the Italianity and the singular vigor and originality of his style. Quite different from his is the prose of Edmondo De Amicis, (born in 1846), of Oneglia, the sole "epigono" of Manzoni that has risen to renown. He was an officer at first in our army, and made himself known to Italians in 1869 by a collection of sketches, pleasant and attractive, of military life. This was followed by descriptions of travels, a book for boys, a study of friendship, tales, and other writings, in all of which he has produced riches of sentiment and exploited the various aptitudes of his mind. In these later times De Amicis seems to have found a way of his own in art. Having freed himself from his old optimism, in the books *Sull' Oceano, La carrozza di tutti,* and *Memorie,* as well as in some conferences and discourses gathered under the title *Speranze e glorie* ("Hopes and Glories"), he has turned the psychologic analysis, which he has been gradually refining more and more, to the humble and the suffering of human society of to-day.

Another prose-writer of our time who takes a place among the most celebrated is Ruggiero Bonghi (1827-1895), a Neapolitan, an admirable writer, translator of Plato, author of innumerable works in politics, history, philosophy, criticism and economy. Much less prolific but a very terse writer, was Marco Tabarrini, of Pomarance (1818-1898), to whom we owe valuable studies in historical criticism and a beautiful book on Gino Capponi. In clear and candid elegance of style he is rivaled by Cesare Guasti (1822-1889), of Prato, historian and philologist. Tullo Massarani (1826-1905), of Mantua, and Gaetano Negri (1838-1902), of Milan, published suggestive books on various subjects. Ferdinando Martini, of Monsummano, born in 1841, a statesman, orator, and

conferenziere, writes brilliant and subtle prose. Less fluency but a singular variety of ideas was in Paulo Fambri (1827-1897), a Venetian, known also as a writer of comedies.

Giuseppe Puccianti, born in Pisa in 1830, a Manzonian and writer of graceful Tuscan, is the author of poems, tales in rhyme, epigrams, and little comedies for the young; also of a good educative book, *Il piccolo Emilio,* and noteworthy critical essays. The following writers are also noted for beauties of style and other fine literary qualities: Enrico Nencioni (1839-1896), a Florentine and connoisseur of modern foreign literature; Panzacchi, already recorded as a poet; Pompeo Gherardo Molmenti, a Venetian born in 1852, historian and art critic; and Vittorio Vecchi ("Jack la Bolina"), born in Marseilles in 1843, a graceful writer on marine subjects. Like praise is due to Aristide Gabelli (1830-1891), of Belluna, noted for pedagogic studies, and to the celebrated naturalist Antonio Stoppani (1824-1890), to Paolo Lioy, and notably to Grazia Deledda, the Sardinian novelist.

In the romance and in the novel of Italy after 1860 liberal imitations from the French predominated over original work, especially imitations of Zola, the most celebrated representative of the realistic school.

The historical romance, which had no longer reason to be, having disappeared, the masterpiece of Manzoni continued none the less to exert an influence on our writers. The characteristic tradition of our country was not interrupted; Anton Giulio Barrili, born in 1836, of Savona, prolific and versatile, continued it with his innumerable romances; Salvatore Farina, born in 1846, of Sorso near Sassari, connected himself with it, approaching the manner of Dickens in the optimism and the humor of which certain of his stories are full. But the Italian romance of the past thirty years has been inspired by the same ideas that inform contemporaneous foreign ro-

mances; that is to say, not common food for the curiosity of readers weary or in haste or inattentive, but founts of intellectual enjoyment for those able to appreciate the subtle dissection of character and passion. To Giovanni Verga, born in 1840, of Catania, the life of the people and of the middle class in his Sicily has offered subjects for many romances and novels that are full of truth and vigor, notwithstanding certain artifices of manner. Matilde Serao, born at Patrasso in 1856, who stands first among the woman authors of fame in Italy, by activity of imagination and vigor of style, also has tales masterfully constructed from observation of men and manners which probably will stand the test of time.

Gabriele D'Annunzio, too, has made psychologic analysis a feature of his novels, read to-day throughout Europe, as well as of some of his dramas—among which *La figlia di Jorio* is particularly original and vigorous. He owes much to the French—Zola, Flaubert, Maupassant, and others—and something to the Russians—Tolstoi and Dostojevski. Not only for this analysis is he read, but also to give the reader intellectual enjoyment in the music, in the exuberant and almost oriental richness of the style.

Much better for the young are the romances of Antonio Fogazzaro, of Vicenza, born in 1842. They are especially fine in the drawing of character. Fogazzaro, who is the author of two volumes of verse as well, always gives a sincere tone of high spirituality to his creations.

Of the other living novelists who are held in high estimation—as Girolamo Rovetta, Luigi Capuana, Renato Fucini, the last-named a lively painter of manners in the *Veglie di Neri,* and author of fine sonnets in the Pisan dialect—we cannot speak more particularly.

But Rovetta, a dramatic author as well, leads us to speak of the drama, of whose fortunes the same may be said, in general, that was said of the romance. Tom-

maso Gherardi del Testa (1815-1881), of Terricciola di Pisa, draws with spirit the manners of the middle class in Tuscany in his numerous comedies, notable also for the purity of their Italian style. Vincenzo Martini, of Florence (1803-62), whose *Il cavaliere d'industria* is still famous, stands high as a playwright.

As Felice Romani held the field upon our stage with his famous musical dramas, so did Paolo Ferrari, of Modena (1822-1889), until about 1880 with his historic comedies, of which some are really praiseworthy—*Goldoni e le sue sedici commedie nuove, Parini e la satira,*—and with his dramas *a tesi* (problem dramas), that is, aiming to prove a moral or social theory. He was good in comedy; but in this latter kind of drama—*Il suicido, Il duello, Le due dame,* and others—of the class of those in France by Augier and Dumas *fils*—his characters declaim too much, and he carries to excess the use of some hackneyed stage expedients. Paolo Giacometti, of Novi Ligure (1817-1882), among his many and varied histrionic works, has some dramas *a tesi,* as *La morte civile,* where the effort at strength and brilliance is too apparent. In comedy at a certain time he seemed to contest the palm with Ferrari Achille Torelli, a Neapolitan born in 1844, who gained great applause with his *Mariti* in 1867.

There were, from 1870 to 1880, noteworthy cultivators of the historic drama. One, Pietro Cossa (1830-1881), a Roman, drew his inspiration from the memories of his glorious city; but he treated the great personages that he brought upon the stage without rhetorical enthusiasm, clearing away the dim or roseate mists of legend from them; and in *Nerone, Messalina, Cleopatra,* and others, he draws with realism and crude coloring the corruptions of ancient Rome in lines close to common speech, the versification weak, but adapted to the mixture of comic and tragic, and to the variety of the numerous interlocutors. In other than Roman subjects Cossa is not so

good. They have been treated with better success by Felice Cavallotti (1842-1898), a Milanese and a celebrated political orator, to whom we owe also a scenic "bozzetto" in Martellian verse exquisitely elaborated, *Il Cantico dei Cantici* ("The Canticle of Canticles"), and comedies original in conception if not always technically correct; and by Leopoldo Marenco (1836-1899), the son of Carlo, a noted author of tragedies who lived in the first half of the century. The stage was held long by *bozzetti* and *proverbi,* among them some unusually brilliant and graceful by Ferdinando Martini, previously recorded, a son of the comedy-writer Vincenzo—*Chi sa il guoco non l'insegni* ("He who knows the game does not teach it"), *Il peggio passo è quello dell' uscio* ("The worst step is the one at the threshold), and others; and by the mediæval idyls, like *Il trionfo d'amore* ("The Triumph of Love") and *Una partita a scacchi* ("A Game of Chess"), by Giuseppe Giacosa, born near Ivrea in 1847, the latest outcome of romanticism in dramatic poetry.

To-day the fashion of imitating the celebrated French playwright Victorien Sardou having declined, that of the Scandinavians has come in, especially Ibsen, profound and vigorous, but nebulous, and of the two famous Germans, Hermann Sudermann and Gerard Hauptmann.

Aside from Rovetta and Giacosa, who has recently written a serious and suggestive comedy, *Come le foglie* ("Like the leaves"), analytical psychologic dramas and lively comedies have been written by Roberto Bracco, Marco Praga, Camillo and Giannino Antona-Traversi, Sabatino Lopez, and others. In dialect, Giacinto Gallina (1852-1897), of Venice, took up the Goldonian tradition, renewing and varying it with success.

But after 1860 critical and philological work took many able minds from original literary production—work carried on with zeal and a common intent to give the nation a history of its letters worthy the traditions of its culture.

The lead in this line of study was taken almost simultaneously by Carducci, D'Ancona and Bartoli. They have freed us from the empty and gossiping style of criticism of those who, misunderstanding De Sanctis and denying the canons of the inductive method, triumphant in the exact sciences, founded chimerical edifices upon postulates assumed *a priori*.

Giosué Carducci, who even as regards art is always guided by the ideas and intuitions of the historic method, proceeds in the study of literature from analysis of texts and research among archives and manuscripts in libraries. From these he rises to the broader observation of genius. Thus, he has offered an ingenious and consistent synthesis of the history of our literature to the time of Tasso, with a thorough study of Dante, and has followed the varying fortunes of the *Commedia* in the fourteenth century.

By the side of Carducci in literary criticism stands Alessandro D'Ancona, born in Pisa in 1835, and Professor at the University there from 1860 to 1900, a man of vast learning and fine historic sense, to whom we owe works such as *Le origini del teatro italiano* ("Origins of the Italian Drama"), which are the fruit not alone of patient research, but of singular ability in coördinating and weighing facts; and, in addition, monographs upon the most varied subjects, in lively style though constructed according to rigorous scientific method.

No slight contribution to the work of critical reform, so well advanced at this day, was made by Adolfo Bartoli (1833-1894), of Fivizzano, whose genius is peculiarly adapted to investigation and dialectics. In his review of the first two centuries of Italian literature and his history of Italian literature, which does not come beyond Petrarch, he discusses disputed questions, offers hypotheses, and disproves legends.

Bartoli taught at the Institute for Higher Studies in

Florence. Graf, at Turin, and at Naples Zumbini and D'Ovidio diffused from the chairs of Italian Literature and Romance Philology the love for scholarly research, uniting æsthetico-psychologic analysis with it in various ways, according to the differing bent of their minds. Graf, with some preliminary studies read at the University and a work upon *Rome in the Memory and in the Imaginations of the Middle Ages,* proved theoretically and practically the need for more scientific treatment of literary history, afterward adding nine books of high value and of varied argument. Bonaventura Zumbini, born at Cosenza in 1840, gave a first impulse to the comparative study of modern literature with more than one of his critical essays, which are singularly fine in substance and in form. Criticism and literary history owe much also to Francesco D'Ovidio, of Campobasso, born in 1843, a learned philologist and an acute and able writer.

Other noted men have taught criticism with honor, and cultivated it with success; among them, Giovanni Mestica of Apiro, born in 1831, and Adolfo Borgognoni of Corropoli (1840-1893). As a result, a host of active and vigorous workers have devoted themselves to clearing up this or that point in our literary history; and, thanks to the partition and distribution of illustrative work which has been made in the past twenty years by tacit accord of students, the most diverse aptitudes have been put to profit for the construction of the building desired. One can form an idea of the good accomplished in this field of study during the past fifteen years by merely turning over the leaves of the thirty-six volumes already issued of the historical journal of Italian literature edited by Francesco Novati and Rodolfo Renier.

Vivid light is thrown on this field from other neighboring fields cultivated with equal zeal and success; as those of history, classic and neo-Latin philology, modern

foreign literature, and linguistics. In history, Giuseppe De Leva, of Zara (1821-1895), with a vast work upon Charles V from documentary sources, and Pasquale Villari, a Neapolitan born in 1827, with powerful works on Savonarola and Machiavelli, have taught the abandonment of subjective criticism and preconceived political ideas in the search for truth. The work of the second concerning the author of *The Prince* belongs to literary as well as to civil history. Of civil in addition to literary history are the writings upon Dante and the work in three volumes upon Dino Compagni, by Isidoro Del Lungo, born in 1841 at Montevarchi, an able critic and elegant writer.

No small additions to the study of our literature have been made by the Roman philologist Domenico Comparetti (born in 1835), investigating with vast learning the fame and fortunes of Virgil in the Middle Ages, and by Pio Rajna (born in 1847), of Sondrio, a noted neo-Latinist, investigating the sources of the *Orlando Furioso* and the origins of the French epic, illustrating the *Reali di Francia* and preparing a critical edition of the *De vulgari eloquentia*, the important beginning of the re-prints of all Alighieri's works designed by the Italian Dante Society. Further, the greater familiarity with German and English writers of genius to whom Chiarini has devoted his *Studii shakespeariani* and *Studii e ritratti letterarii* ("Literary Studies and Portraits"), has aided our critics to understand certain literary phenomena that have appeared on this side the Alps. Finally, the knowledge of ancient Italian and of the various dialects of the peninsula has been greatly advanced by the studies of learned and laborious linguists, the highest authority among whom in Italy and in other countries is Graziadio Isaia Ascoli, born in 1829 at Gorizia, founder of the *Archivio glotto logico*.

During the past decade the work illustrative of our

literary monuments has been made, if not finer, yet more systematic. The studies upon Dante and those concerning popular traditions, which have cast so much light upon our legends and tales, have been continued, thanks to Giuseppe Pitré, to D'Ancona, and to some others, with greater uniformity of method. Less often than formerly is there excess of erudition in this work, and perhaps more care is given to elegance in literary criticism than formerly. This disposes of the idea that two schools of this kind of criticism, diverse and opposed, can exist—the historical and the æsthetic—an absurd and injurious prejudice, since neither can erudite research dispense with æsthetic analysis, nor the latter with the former, while united they succeed, with the aid of psychology, in revealing to us the inmost heart and inspiration of masterpieces of literature, and lead us to separate the author's creative work in them from the part that is the expression of the sentiment of a people and of an age.

If, proceeding in the course it has entered, criticism in Italy shall spread more widely among the cultured the results of scientific research concerning all our works of art, the study of the past by such methods will very greatly aid in making the work of the present more finely artistic. To have knowledge of certain maladies of the intellect and depravities of taste will serve to cure us and draw us away from dangers; and while the comparative study of modern literature will cause us to keep in view the ideas and the forms prevailing from time to time in the literary productions of Europe, we shall pursue our own with fuller and more secure consciousness of our traditions and our destiny.

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